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SOMETIME SCHOLAR OF ORIEL COLLEGE, OXFORD
AUTHOR OF 'ENGLAND AND THE BRITISH EMPIRE'
'ENGLAND'S INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT'
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PREFACE

This Class Book of the British Commonwealth has been written for the use of students who have passed the stage when history can be presented only as a collection of picturesque incidents, but to whom much still requires to be explained in a simple and familiar manner; who have, however, reached the point when they can realise that they have before them a history of continuous development, in which events are not isolated happenings but are the product of environment, the consequence of what has been and the cause of what is to be.

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In the third volume especially the story of the other members of our Twentieth Century Commonwealth is treated with a fulness which has not hitherto been customary in general class-books.

The title was chosen (before the publication of Professor Ramsay Muir's volume) as suggesting the special purpose which the author has held in view—the production of a class book which should be a history not merely of a country, not merely of an Empire even, but of that union of free peoples for which there is no other fitting name than Commonwealth; since the Australian precedent has freed that term of any sinister significance.

A. D. INNES.

Gerrard's Cross,
June 1922.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER I. EARLY DAYS: TO 800 A.D.

PAGE

I. BEFORE CAESAR: TO B.C. 55 1

1. Introductory — 2. Primitive Man — 3. The First Islanders—4. The Celts.

II. ROME AND BRITAIN: B.C. 55–A.D. 407 6

1. Julius Caesar—2. Rome and the Britons—3. The Roman Conquest—4. The Roman Occupation.

III. THE CIVILISED WORLD—CONSTANTINE TO CHARLEMAGNE: A.D. 300–800 11

1. The Roman Empire—2. The Barbarians—3. The Saracens—4. Charles Martel, Pepin, and Charlemagne.

IV. THE ENGLISH CONQUEST: 407–613 19

1. Britain Adrift—2. The English Invasions—3. The Final Conquest.

V. THE EARLY ENGLISH KINGDOMS: 590–800 . . . 23

1. Ethelbert and Augustine—2. Rise of Northumbria—3. The Church in England—4. Waning of Northumbria—5. Rise of Mercia—6. Mercia and Wessex.

VI. THE ISLAND PEOPLES 33

1. The Celts—2. The English Conquerors—3. The English Ways.

CHAPTER II. THE ENGLISH KINGDOM: 800-1066

I. EUROPE AFTER CHARLEMAGNE: 800–1066 . . . 39

1. The Partition of the Empire—2. Feudalism—3. The New Empire.

II. THE HOUSE OF WESSEX: 800–1013 46

1. The Danish Raids—2. Alfred the Great—3. Kings of all England—4. Ethelred the Redeless.

III. THE END OF THE OLD ORDER: 1014–1066 . . . 52

1. Danish kings—2. Edward the Confessor—3. Harold.

IV. THE BATTLE FOR ENGLAND: 1066 57

1. The Opposing Forces—2. The Great Fight—3. The English Submission—4. A Note on the Battle.

CHAPTER III. THE CONQUEST AND THE NORMANS: 1066-1154

PAGE
I. CHRISTENDOM: 1066–1154 64
1. The Papacy and the Empire—2. Gregory VII.—3. The First Crusade.
II. ENGLAND AS THE CONQUEROR FOUND IT 69
1. The Township—2. The Rural Order—3. Lords and Tenants—4. The English Government—5. The King's Revenue.
III. WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR: 1066–1087 75
1. The Conquest of the South—2. The Conquest of the North—3. The Rule of the Conqueror.
IV. THE NORMAN REVOLUTION: 1066–1087 79
1. The New Feudalism—2. Barons and Mesne Tenants—3. Norman Lords—4. Forest Laws and Domesday Book.
V. THE CONQUEROR'S SUCCESSORS: 1087–1154 85
1. The End of William I.—2. William Rufus—3. Henry I. and Anselm—4. The Lion of Justice—5. Stephen.
VI. IRELAND, WALES, AND SCOTLAND: TO 1154 95
1. Ireland—2. Wales—3. Early Scotland—4. Malcolm Canmore and his Sons.

CHAPTER IV. THE SHAPING OF ENGLAND: 1154–1272

I. EUROPE: 1154–1272 103
1. The Period—2. Barbarossa and the Third Crusade—3. The Papacy and the Hohenstaufen—4. The Great Cities—5. France.
II. HENRY II.: 1154–1189 109
1. The First Plantagenet—2. Reconstruction—3. King and Archbishop—4. The Annexation of Ireland—5. Henry's Later Years—6. His Work.
III. RICHARD CŒUR DE LION: 1189–1199 120
1. Richard on Crusade—2. England under Justiciars—3. Hubert Walter.
IV. JOHN: 1199–1216 125
1. Loss of Normandy—2. The Papal Quarrel—3. John's Submission—4. Runnymede and the Barons' War—5. Magna Carta.

PAGE

V. Henry III. : 1216–1272 133
1. William Marshal and Hubert de Burgh—2. Poitevins and Savoyards—3. The Mad Parliament—4. Lewes, and Montfort's Parliament—5. Evesham, and Settlement.

VI. Ireland, Wales, and Scotland : 1200–1270 . . 141
1. Ireland and Wales—2. Scotland.

VII. Merrie England : 1154–1272 144
1. Lords, Villeins, and Freeholders—2. Administration of Justice—3. Growth of Trade—4. Boroughs and Gilds-Merchant—5. Jews and Lombards—6. Wages and Rents—7. Barons and Knights—8. Some Ideals.

CHAPTER V. THE ENGLISH AND SCOTTISH NATIONS: 1272–1330

I. Europe : 1272–1330 160
1. Italy—2. Germany and the Empire—3. The Making of France—4. Philip IV. and his Sons.

II. Edward I. (*a*) The Law-giver : 1272–1292 . . . 165
1. Introductory—2. Edward's Aims—3. Legislation, First Period—4. Legislation, Second Period.

III. Edward I. (*b*) The Imperialist : 1272–1292 . . 170
1. The Scheme of Union—2. Conquest of Wales—3. Settlement of Wales—4. The Scottish Arbitration.

IV. Edward I. (*c*) Malleus Scotorum : 1293–1307 . . 176
1. The French Complication—2. The Model Parliament—3. The Scots Crown, and the Confirmation of the Charters—4. William Wallace—5. Falkirk—6. Subjugation—7. Revolt of Bruce.

V. Dark Days after Edward I. : 1307–1330 . . . 187
1. Edward II.—2. Gaveston and the Lords Ordainers—3. Thomas of Lancaster and the Despensers—4. Deposition and Usurpation.

VI. The Independence of Scotland : 1307–1329 . . 192
1. The Expulsion of the English—2. Bannockburn—3. Ireland and Edward Bruce—4. Robert Bruce's Legacy.

VII. A Survey : 1272–1330 198
1. A New Chapter opened—2. Birth of the House of Commons—3. Economic Progress.

CHAPTER VI. NATIONAL GROWTH: 1330–1400

PAGE
I. Before the Hundred Years' War: 1330–1338 . . 206
1. Europe—2. Scotland—3. The Approach of War.
II. Deeds of Arms: 1338–1360 211
1. First Campaign: Sluys—2. Crecy—3. Calais—4. Poictiers and the Treaty of Bretigny . . .
III. Progress and a Set-back: 1330–1360 . . . 217
1. Parliament—2. Commerce: the Staple—3. Commerce: Englishman and Alien—4. The Black Death, and after.
IV. The Days of Failure: 1361–1375 223
1. Scotland and Ireland—2. Aquitaine—3. Defeat.
V. The Black Prince's Brothers: 1376–1381 . . . 227
1. The Sons of Edward III.—2. The End of Edward III.—3. The Accession of Richard II.—4. The Peasant Revolt—5. The Passing of Villeinage.
VI. The Tragedy of Richard II.: 1381-1399 . . . 233
1. Richard and Lancaster—2. The Appellants—3. Richard rules—4. Richard strikes—5. Richard as Despot—6. His Fall.
VII. Literature and Lollardy: 1350–1400 . . . 243
1. Piers Plowman—2. Geoffrey Chaucer—3. Wiclif—4. Lollardy.

CHAPTER VII. THE HOUSE OF LANCASTER: 1399–1459

I. England, Scotland, and Europe: 1399–1460 . . 253
1. England and the Dynasties—2. Scotland—3. France—4. The Papacy and the Councils—5. The Turks, the Portuguese, and the Printing Press.
II. Henry IV.: 1399–1413 261
1. The Rebellions—2. Crown, Church, and Parliament—3. Close of the Reign.
III. Henry V.: 1413–1422 265
1. Henry the Conqueror—2. Harfleur and Agincourt—3. The Conquest—4. Henry V. and Edward I.
IV. Henry VI.: 1422–1459 271
1. Bedford—2. Joan of Arc—3. Disaster—4. English Factions—5. Gloucester and Suffolk—6. York and Queen Margaret—7. The Approach of Civil War.

CHAPTER VIII. THE PASSING OF THE MIDDLE AGES: 1459–1485

PAGE

I. THE LAST OF THE BARONS: 1459–1471 285
1. The Fight for the Crown—2. The King and the Kingmaker—3. Barnet and Tewkesbury.

II. THE YORKIST MONARCHY: 1471–1485 290
1. The New Monarchy—2. The Reign of Edward IV.—3. Richard III.'s Usurpation—4. The Terror—5. The Sword of Damocles—6. The End of King Richard—7. The End of Feudalism.

III. THE ISLANDS IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY: 1400–1485 . 300
1. Rural England—2. Commerce—3. The Towns—4. Science—5. Learning and Letters—6. Signs of the Times—7. Warfare—8. Wales, Ireland, and Scotland.

SUMMARIES

CHRONOLOGIES—
To A.D. 800 38
800–1066 62
1066–1154 100
1154–1272 155
1272–1330 203
1330–1399 250
1399–1459 282
1459–1485 311

LAWS—
The English Dooms 63
Norman Laws 101
Early Plantagenet Laws and Ordinances 156
Legislation of Edward I. 204
Fourteenth-century Statutes, Ordinances, etc. . . . 251

PARLIAMENT AND COUNCIL—
Great Council and King's Council 157
Parliament in the Fourteenth Century 252
Parliament and Council in the Fifteenth Century . . 283

THE FORCES—
Norman 101
Early Plantagenet, 1154–1330 205
Later Plantagenet, 1330–1485 284

TRIAL BY JURY 158

GENEALOGIES

PAGE
House of Wessex 47
The Norman Dynasty 86
The Plantagenets, Henry II.–Edward III. 111
The Scottish Crown 175
The French Crown 192
The Descendants of Edward III. 240-1
(*A*) House of York. (*B*) Lancaster, Beaufort, and Buckingham.
Bruces and Stewarts 256
The House of Valois 258

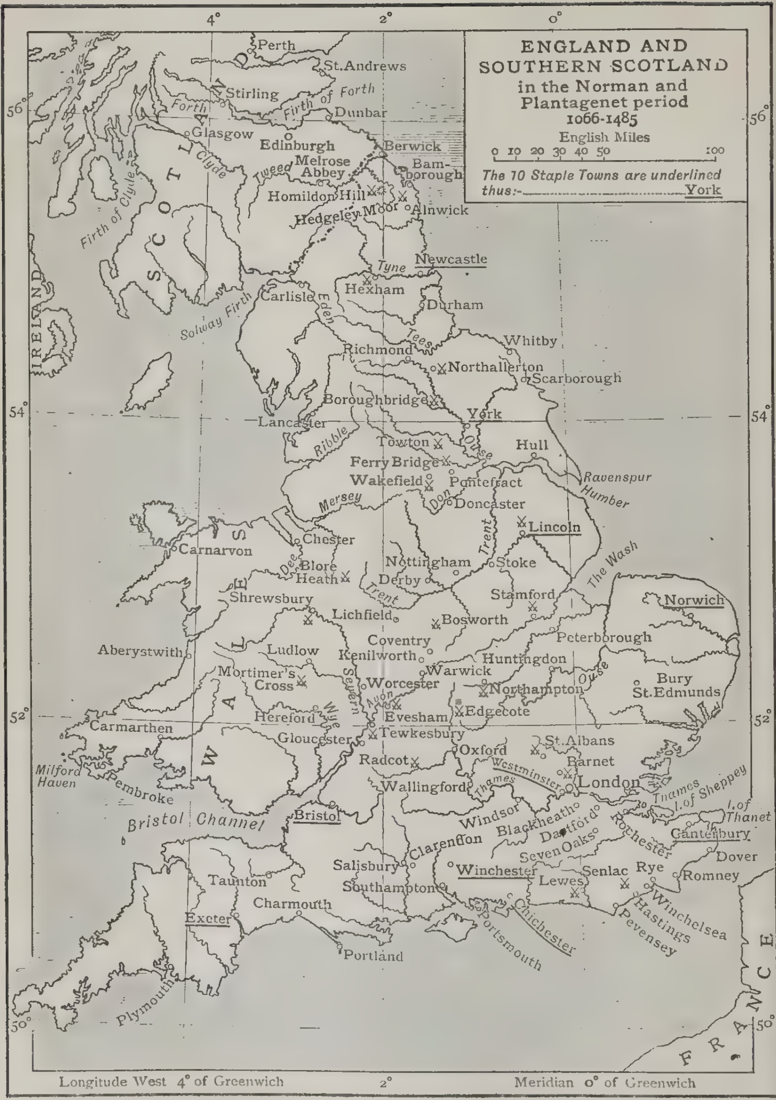
MAPS AND PLANS

England and Southern Scotland, 1066–1485 xiv
The Roman Empire 12-13
Western Europe, Ninth Century 40
The Battle of Hastings 59
Europe in the Thirteenth Century 104
Bannockburn 195
Crecy 213
Agincourt Campaign 268

COLOURED MAPS

I. England and South Scotland, Saxon Period
II. Scotland and North England, 1066–1485 .
III. France, 1154–1485 . . . .
IV. Wales, Thirteenth Century . . .
} *End of Volume*

INDEX 313



ENGLAND AND SOUTHERN SCOTLAND in the Norman and Plantagenet period 1066-1485

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CHAPTER I

EARLY DAYS: TO 800 A.D.

I. Before Caesar: to B.C. 55.

Introductory—Primitive Man—The First Islanders—The Celts.

I. The Isles and the Empire.

The British Empire or Commonwealth to-day is spread all over the world. It covers a third part of Africa, the whole of India in Asia, the whole continent of Australia, half of North America, the great islands of New Zealand and Newfoundland, Jamaica, and innumerable smaller islands all over the globe, besides colonies in South and Central America. Yet a little more than three hundred years ago, not one foot of soil outside the British Isles was possessed by the British; and even the British Isles were divided into two separate kingdoms, the kingdom of Scotland and the kingdom of England, which included Ireland and Wales. England itself has been a single kingdom for only about a thousand years. It is the expansion, the spreading out, of the people of these islands after they were joined together by the Union of the Crowns of England and Scotland at the beginning of the seventeenth century which has built up the British Empire.

The British Peoples.

But it was the way in which those States were themselves built up which made it possible for their people to spread out over the world. That building up began with the coming of the English, who gave their name to England; and therefore some people say that our 'history' begins with the coming of the English in the fifth century of the Christian Era, the century between 400 and 500 A.D. That would be true if the English had conquered the whole of the British Isles and destroyed all the people who were there before them. But as a matter of fact, if they did that at all, it was only in about one-half of England; in the rest of England and the south of Scotland they mixed with the people who were before them; and in Wales, in the north of Scotland, and in Ireland the older peoples held their own and drove the English invaders out; so that even to this day you can see, and hear by their speech, that the people in the Scottish Highlands, and in Wales, and in most of Ireland are of a different race from the people of the south of England, though the two have been becoming more and more mixed and blended together in the long course of hundreds of years; so that the British people are a very long way from being just 'the English,' and we cannot understand our own people if we are content to start our story with the arrival of the English upon our shores.

It is not enough to know how the building rose. We have to learn something first about the materials of which it was built and the foundations on which it was laid. Therefore for a little while we will go back to very early times indeed.

2. The first inhabitants.

Many thousands of years ago, most of what is now Europe was an Arctic region covered with ice. It began slowly to get warmer; the ice disappeared by degrees, till at last only the far north was frost-bound and the European continent stood out girdled by the sea, very much as it is now. Before that 'ice-age,' as the Arctic period is called, a great deal of what is now sea had been dry land. There had been no 'channel' to cross between the lands which are now called France and England. It was the ice-age which cut the 'silver streak' between England and the Continent, making islands of Great Britain and Ireland; near enough to the mainland for adventurous people to be tempted to try coming over, but far enough to prevent any one who was not venturesome from making the attempt. There had been human beings in the world long before; there are traces of them still to be found in our northern regions, though they must all have perished in the ice-time; they were not ancestors of any present-day people. But the chances are that the races which pushed north as the retiring ice uncovered the land never died out altogether. One followed another, but a remnant of the first comers mingled with the new-comers, so that any one of us even now may have in his veins a touch of the blood of the very first comers, who arrived before the 'British Channel' had become a clean cut too broad for any but the venturesome to cross. We can guess with some certainty that those first comers arrived not much less—and it may be a good deal more—than twenty thousand years ago.

Life was pretty difficult in those days, when Man's ways were not very different from those of the beasts, many of which were much stronger and swifter than he was. He could only hold his own and escape destruction because he was more cunning. No other animals learnt speech, which was perhaps the first thing that gave Man a great advantage; no others found out that fire was a thing they could make and use; and when it came to fighting, Man alone learnt the art of throwing things, so that he could cripple or even kill from a distance great creatures which would have destroyed him without an effort at close quarters.

From Stone to Iron.

Once he had found out that he could use a stone, either as a hammer or as a missile, he had started the business of inventing tools and improving them slowly, century after century. The stone became a pointed head for a javelin, a blunt head for a hammer with a shaft; the hammer-head with an edge to it became an axe. So his flint tools went on improving and improving; and Man became more and more the master over other animals, fighting some, preying on others, making others his servants; learning also to clear forests, to plant and grow corn and fruit trees, instead of having to be satisfied with what nature put in his way.

For thousands of years the stone tools were very clumsy. Man in that stage is called 'Palaeo-lithic,' which means 'old-stone.' Later, he brought the stone tools to a wonderful perfection: in that stage he is called 'Neo-lithic,' 'new-stone.' There are still savages in some parts of the world who have never got beyond being Palaeolithic. The great change came when men discovered that they could make better tools of metal than of stone—copper hardened into bronze by mixing with tin, and later still, iron instead of bronze. But iron was never used till less than three thousand years ago, or bronze till perhaps a thousand years before that, in the earliest homes of civilisation, the valleys of the Nile and the Euphrates.

3. Before the Celts came.

We do not know when the first men made their way into this country after the ice-age. It may have been 20,000 years ago. All we have to go by is their 'remains,' the tools or pottery, for the most part, which must have been made by men in the stone-age, but of which bits have been found so far below the present surface of the earth that it must have taken thousands of years to bury them so deeply. Then at last we come to remains so much on the surface that they cannot go back for more than a trifle of six or seven thousand years, or a good deal less—some time between 1000 B.C. and 5000 B.C.

Some of the most important of these are burial-places, mounds called 'barrows' full of the bones of the ancient dead. These show the presence of different *races* of mankind. The earliest barrows are long-shaped, like an egg, not round; and the dead men in them all have long-shaped heads—long from the front to the back of the skull in proportion to the breadth. Then come round barrows; and in them all the skulls are short and round, not much more from back to front than from side to side, and the bones in them are the bones of bigger men. And then come burial-places in which long heads and short heads are mixed, and with them are heads which cannot be reckoned as either long or short. From which we can be quite sure that at one time most of the people in the islands belonged to a long-headed race, that a short-headed race arrived after them, and that the long-heads and short-heads took to intermarrying, and gradually became a mixed race, some with long heads and some with short, and some betwixt and between. The short-heads used bronze tools and weapons, from which we may guess that they did not arrive before 2000 B.C. The strange erections called stone-circles, such as we may see at Stonehenge and Avebury, belong to this period, though what they were erected for nobody knows with certainty.

Iberians.

Something of the same kind was going on over most of Europe in those days, as we know by the remains found in different parts of the Continent. The name of Iberian is often given to the races which, mixed in various proportions, must have been inhabiting most of western Europe, including the British Isles, between three and four thousand years ago. The next stage comes with the movement of peoples somewhere in the east, known as the 'Aryan migrations.'

Aryans.

No one knows for certain where the Aryans started from. Most probably it was from the regions east and north of the Caspian Sea. Some of them migrated to other parts of Asia and conquered the northern part of India. Most of them, sooner or later, pushed westwards, and in the thousand years between 1500 and 500 B.C. they had overrun all Europe; not wiping out the peoples who were before them, but conquering them and mixing with them, so that the old languages disappeared almost entirely, and the speech of all Europe was some Aryan form of speech, though there were great differences.

THUS by about 1000 B.C. one branch of them, the Hellenes or Greeks, had conquered all that we now call the Balkan Peninsula, besides the west coast of Asia Minor; another branch, the Latins and Oscans, had moved farther west and were making themselves masters of Italy; and the group with whom we are more particularly concerned, the Celts, shut off from the Mediterranean Sea by the Hellenes and Latins, were pushing westwards to the north of them across modern Germany, where they did not stop, into modern France and Spain where they did stop, and across the Channel into our own islands. Probably the Celtic invasion here did not begin till after 1000 B.C.; and they owed their victory to the fact that very soon after their arrival they began to make and use the better tools and weapons with iron heads and blades, which gave them a great advantage over the bronze-using people.

4. The Celts.

They came in three waves. The first wave we call Gaels or Goidels. They overran the whole of Great Britain and Ireland. The second wave was that of the Brythons or Britons, who drove the Gaels back into the barren mountains in the north of Scotland, making themselves masters of the whole country, or nearly all of it, up to the Firth of Forth. But they did not cross over to Ireland, which remained in possession of the Gaels and Iberians, who had become pretty thoroughly mixed. The last wave was also Brythonic—their form of the Celtic language was the same as that of the Brythons, but not of the Gaels.

But before they came a foreign explorer from civilised lands had made his appearance and written down notes of what he saw; and this was the very first beginning of *recorded* history, as far as this country is concerned. That is to say, nobody before this had set down anything about it in writing of any kind. This explorer, Pytheas, was a Greek from the Greek colony of Massilia, of which the modern name is Marseilles; and he made his journey towards the end of the fourth century B.C. about the time of the death of the mighty conqueror Alexander the Great. He did not learn very much; but we know from him that the people whom he saw were Britons—*Pretani* he called them—that there was intercourse between them and the Celts (Gauls) across the Channel, and that Phoenician or Carthaginian sailors had been trading with them for years though they had been very careful to let no one else into the secret. Traces of those Phoenician traders remain in Cornwall to this day.

First records.

More than two hundred years passed before any other explorer arrived. Meanwhile the third Celtic wave rolled across the Channel, spreading over the south-eastern half of modern England: a wave of the same tribes which then occupied modern Belgium and the north-eastern part of France, which was known as Gallia or Gaul to the

Romans who were then masters of the civilised world. The Roman Republic, once only one among many small states in the centre of Italy, had extended her dominion over the whole Italian peninsula between 500 and 200 B.C., and after that, in a little more than a hundred years, had brought under her sway, or at least into some sort of obedience to her, all the civilised lands on both sides of the Mediterranean Sea and eastward as far as the river Euphrates and the Persian Gulf. So far she had set up her rule in Gaul over no more than the province which lies on the south between the Alps and the Pyrenees. But about 58 B.C. the Roman governor of that province, Julius Caesar, was preparing for the conquest of all Gaul; and in 55 B.C. he thought it worth while to lead an expedition to the island of Britain, and to judge from what he might see whether it would repay him to set about the conquest of it as well.

II. Rome and Britain: B.C. 55—A.D. 407.

Julius Caesar—Rome and the Britons—The Roman Conquest—
The Roman Occupation.

1. Caesar's first visit.

JULIUS CAESAR, the governor or 'pro-consul' of the Roman province of Gaul, did not actually try to conquer Britain—*Britannia*, which was the name given by the Romans to the part of the island inhabited by the Brythonic Celts. He had other matters of more pressing importance to attend to. He meant to make himself the master of the whole Roman world, head of the Roman state. If he saw that the conquest of Britain would help him to do so, he would conquer it; but when he found that the conquest would take a long time and would not help him at all, he decided to let it alone. In 55 B.C. he came over with an army of about 10,000 men to see what chances there were that the Britons would simply submit. When his fleet came to Dover he found a host of armed Britons ready to resist the landing; but his ships raced for a point some miles away, and came in shore before the bulk of the army of the Britons could arrive there. His troops, leaping into the water, were able to struggle up to the beach, and when once the trained heavily-armed veterans had formed their fighting line they had no trouble in beating off and dispersing the light-armed Britons. However, a few weeks proved, first, that the Britons could make no stand in a pitched battle against the Roman legionaries, the 'regular troops,' much less attack their entrenched camps successfully; secondly, that they could cut off supplies without fighting pitched battles; and, thirdly, that even when they were defeated and scattered, they could gather again and continue to give trouble—though some of their chiefs were inclined to profess submission. So Caesar re-embarked his men, sailed away, and wrote to Rome that he had had a most successful campaign!

Caesar's second visit.

Next year, he tried again with a much larger force. This time he marched through Kent, crossed the Thames above Kingston, his men wading through the river waist-deep, and captured Verulamium (St. Albans), the place whither the Britons had gathered from the countryside as a refuge and where they had collected stores—which fell into the hands of the Romans. The 'king' Cassivellaunus, the most powerful chief in that part of the country, who had done his best to resist the invasion, was forced to yield and promise tribute. After which Caesar again departed, never to return.

Ten years later, when he had overthrown all his rivals, achieved his great ambition, and made himself the ruler of the Roman world, he was assassinated. A few years later his great-nephew, generally known as Caesar Augustus, made himself the first of the long line of Roman emperors—twenty-eight years before the birth of Christ, Who was crucified during the reign of his successor Tiberius. Tiberius was followed by the mad Caligula, and Caligula by Claudius who was reigning in A.D. 43 when the Roman conquest of Britain really began.

2. The Roman Empire.

FOR nearly 100 years — since Julius Caesar's two expeditions — no Roman soldiers had set foot in the island. In A.D. 43 they came to stay; and for more than three and a half centuries—till after A.D. 400—Britain, *Britannia*, was a province of the Roman Empire.

That empire covered all Europe west of the Rhine and south of the Danube (two rivers both of which rose in the Swiss mountains, the Rhine flowing north into the North Sea, and the Danube east into the Black Sea), all of North Africa which lies between the Mediterranean Sea and the great desert, Egypt, and all Asia west of the river Euphrates (Mesopotamia) and the Persian Gulf. Beyond those borders were 'barbarian' peoples with manners and customs different from those of the 'civilised' world, peoples never conquered by the Romans though Roman armies were often fighting in their territories. Nearly all of those who lay along the borders of the empire, on the east bank of the Rhine and the north bank of the upper Danube, were different tribes of Germans or Teutons who, whatever mixture of races there may have been among them, all spoke kindred languages and practised kindred customs. Akin to them, but dwelling farther from the Roman border, were the Saxons and Angles who, in the fifth century A.D.—when the Roman Empire was breaking up—began to invade and conquer Britain and turn the greater part of it into England, about half a century after the last of the Roman legionaries had left its shores for ever.

The Ancient Britons.

When Julius Caesar came, tribes of the Britons whose chiefs Caesar called kings, were in possession of what we now call England and Wales, and perhaps most of the Lowlands of Scotland. Beyond them the Gaels in the Highlands and in Ireland had never got past what is called the *clan* stage, in which each group that acknowledged a single chief was a clan, all the members of each clan regarding themselves as being descendants of an ancestor common to all. The chief of one powerful clan might have a sort of supremacy over the chiefs of other clans; but the clansmen followed their own chief whether he obeyed such a superior chief or not. The Britons had passed that stage and the clans had become lost in the bigger groups called tribes, which were on the way to forming what might properly be called kingdoms: which was also the case with the Gauls on the other side of the Channel. They had many customs which we call 'barbaric,' such as offering human sacrifices to their gods; they were a long way behind the peoples of the south in the arts of peace and of war too; though they could fight valiantly, they had none of the trained discipline of the Roman legionaries, their weapons were far inferior, and they knew nothing of fortification; so that in pitched battles great numbers of them were easily routed by much smaller Roman forces. But they were not savages, though they tattooed their bodies with blue stain and their boats were light 'coracles' made of wicker. They cultivated the ground, planted and grew crops, kept flocks and herds, wove cloth out of wool, made and used coins for buying and selling—though buying and selling were mostly a matter of barter, exchanging so much corn for wool or sheep for cattle, and so on. Where coin is used at all, it means that the people who use it have passed beyond the stage of savagery. And there is one thing more to note about the Celts in Caesar's time, both Gauls and Britons: an immense influence was exercised over them—quite as great as that of kings and chiefs—by their priests, the Druids, who claimed that the full truths of religion were a secret knowledge revealed to them alone, and that only through them and by obedience to them could people conciliate the gods.

3. The Claudian Conquest.

We have seen that for nearly 100 years after Julius Caesar's departure the Romans left Britain alone. But they had conquered Gaul, and all Gaul was becoming more and more latinised by its Roman government, accustomed to Roman ways, Roman laws, habits, and institutions; and since there was a good deal of going to and fro between Britain and Gaul, the Britons learnt something about the ways and more about the power of Rome. Meanwhile the Romans had too much to do in the way of fighting the warlike Germans on the east and north of the Rhine and the Danube to spare armies for the conquest of Britain—which could at least do them no harm beyond giving a very small amount of help to rebels against the Roman authority in Gaul. At last, however, in A.D. 43 the Emperor Claudius decided that Britain was to be brought under the Roman sway. For the Romans too on their side had been learning a good deal about Britain, and would not, like Julius Caesar, be invading a country about which they knew hardly anything.

The great Roman army commanded by Aulus Plautius, which landed in Kent in A.D. 43, met with a stubborn resistance from Caradoc (whom the Romans called Caratacus), a descendant of Julius Caesar's opponent Cassivellaunus. But the struggle was vain. Caratacus was soon a fugitive, and the Romans were masters of the south-eastern quarter of Britain, where the great tribes of the Iceni and Trinovantes made submission. Caratacus tried to raise the western chiefs against the invaders; but the conquest of the south and the Midlands went on steadily. Caratacus again had to fly, to the northern tribe of the Brigantes, whose queen, instead of shielding him, gave him up as a prisoner to the Romans (A.D. 50). The British hero was sent to Rome, where he was detained in honourable exile till his death.

Boadicea.

Resistance was still active among the Silures of South Wales and the Ordovices in North Wales. Here a Roman commander, Suetonius Paullinus, was conducting a triumphant campaign in A.D. 59 when the Iceni in the east rose under their queen Boudicca whom we call Boadicea, and fell upon the Roman garrison and colonists at Camulodunum (Colchester). Paullinus returned in hot haste from Wales and, though he had only a handful of troops, shattered the forces of the Iceni and their allies the Trinovantes. But the insurrection proved that if Britain was to be held it must first be thoroughly conquered and organised. In the next few years the Romans were engaged not so much in conquest as (probably) in building the great military roads along which they could swiftly despatch forces to any part of the country where danger threatened.

The conquest of the whole country as far north as the Tyne on the east and the Solway on the west was carried out between A.D. 70 and 85, and a series of forts, connected by a long wall, was built along this line which as a matter of fact was always the real boundary of Roman Britain. Agricola was the name of the soldier-governor who completed the conquest, organised the government, and really made Britain south of 'the wall' into a Roman province, orderly, peaceful, and prosperous. This wall is known as Hadrian's, because a few years later in the reign of the Emperor Hadrian (about 120) it was built up more strongly, and fully garrisoned along its whole length, to stand as a permanent rampart against the incursions of the untamed tribes and clans of the further north. Perhaps it was really he who first made the actual wall connecting the fortresses together.

Agricola.

Agricola marched on into Caledonia, always routing the tribesmen when he could bring them to a regular battle, and inflicting a great defeat on them at the Mons Graupius, which is generally supposed to mean somewhere in the Grampian hills; and he made another chain of forts (afterwards called the Wall of Antoninus) across the 'neck' of Scotland from the Forth to Clyde-mouth. But beyond that lay the Highlands where regular troops were always, for centuries to come, apt to be trapped and ambushed and cut up by the mountaineers, who knew every pass and hollow and bog among their barren hills; moreover even the Lowlands were poor and waste, and there was nothing to be got out of them. And so in Scotland the Romans never did more than plant garrisons to hold the Caledonians down and prevent any great gatherings of the tribesmen, though now and then, as in the time of Severus who was emperor rather more than a century after Agricola's day, Roman armies marched into the Highlands and claimed to have conquered them. To Ireland the Romans never went at all.

4. Hadrian to Constantine.

AGRICOLA left Britain in 85 after a governorship of seven years. He had laid the foundations and begun the building of the Roman province, but his work was still incomplete. More than thirty years later, the Brigantes, between the Humber and the Tyne, were in insurrection. What Agricola began, Hadrian finished, coming to Britain himself. After his time, there were no more serious risings south of his wall, over which the Caledonians from beyond could never break. For nearly 300 years the 'Roman

Peace' prevailed. At the end of the third century the great Roman Empire was in danger of breaking up into separate states, but was saved from falling to pieces by the Emperor Diocletian. The North Sea was infested by Saxon pirates who harried the shores of Britain; a military adventurer named Carausius, who may have been a Briton himself, very nearly succeeded in making himself emperor of a separate empire of Britain, but was content to make terms and rule as a Roman governor. Then Constantius became the Roman governor, and after his death his son Constantine—whose mother Helena, according to tradition, was both a Briton and a Christian—overthrew his rivals, became Roman emperor, and established Christianity as the chief officially recognised faith of the empire. Christianity had been growing and spreading for nearly 300 years, and had reached Britain—but till then it had always been forbidden as immoral and revolutionary, and had often been bitterly persecuted. After Constantine, it was the ruling religion throughout the Roman world, and the Britons became Christians like the rest.

The Romans depart.

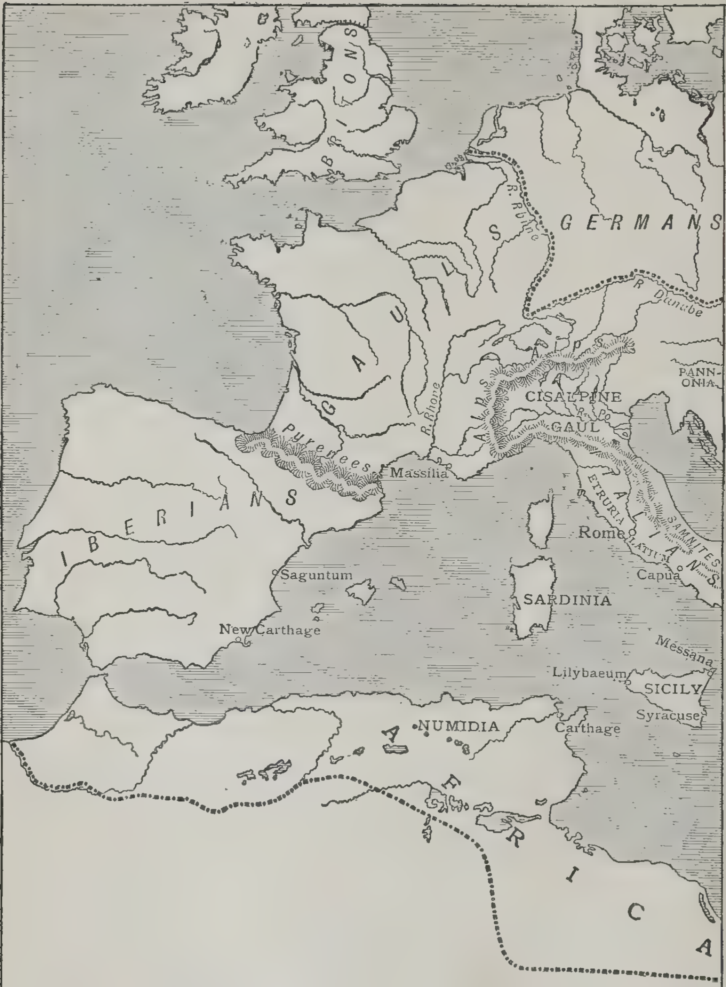
All through the fourth century, however, the Teutonic tribes were pressing more and more heavily upon the frontiers of the empire, and towards the end of it commanders of the troops in one part of it or another were trying to seize the imperial crown for themselves. One of these, Magnus Maximus, commanding in Britain, took away a number of the troops, to fight his battles on the Continent—and this was just at the time when the tribes beyond the wall now known to the Romans as 'Picts' were becoming dangerous. Maximus was killed, but the turmoil in Europe grew greater; and presently a young emperor, Honorius, who had need of every legion he could muster to maintain his position, summoned the last of the Roman regular troops from Britain: and the Roman occupation came to an end in 407.

III. The Civilised World—Constantine to Charlemagne: A.D. 300-800.

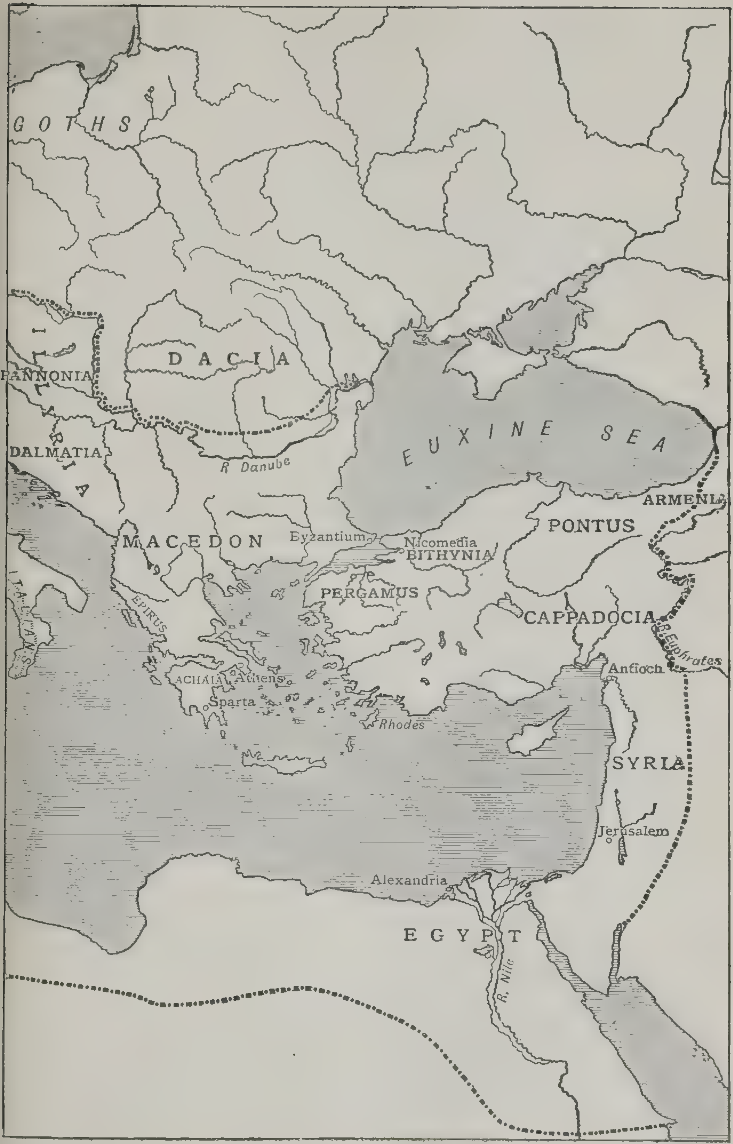
The Roman Empire—The Barbarians—The Saracens—
Charles Martel, Pepin, and Charlemagne.

We cannot understand the history of our own country without understanding also something of the history of the rest of the world. We have seen how before the coming of Julius Caesar these islands were almost entirely cut off from the civilised world which was growing

BATTERSEA



THE ROMAN EMPIRE
about 300 A.D.



Emery Walker sc.

1. The Islands and the Roman Empire.

up, during the thousand years before the birth of Christ, in the lands which surround the Mediterranean Sea, and how the Roman conquest brought them, or part of them, for nearly four hundred years, into the highly civilised Roman Empire. But after the withdrawal of the Romans, they were again cut off from the rest of the world, the world which had been Roman, though they were invaded and in great part conquered by the English or Saxons who had never formed part of the Roman world at all. But although they were cut off, what happened in England was influenced by what was happening elsewhere. It would be confusing to interrupt the British story in order to give long explanations; so we will pause here to give a sketch of what was going on in Europe during the centuries while the English were building up England.

The Church in Europe.

We saw that during the fourth century, from the days of Constantine the Great, Christianity became the accepted religion of the greater part of the Roman Empire, taking the place of the old worship of innumerable gods. At the same time, Constantine's new city of Constantinople or Byzantium was taking the place of Rome as the headquarters of the Government of the Empire, the principal abode of the emperors, who still kept the old title of Caesar. But while Christianity had been forbidden and often cruelly persecuted, the Christians had organised their faith and worship under a system of their own, which had nothing to do with the government of the empire. They were united in the Christian 'Churches' all over the empire, all of which were branches of the Universal or Catholic Church, the one Church of which all Christians were members; with their own rules of life and conduct which were very different from those of the pagans among whom they lived; with their own 'ministry,' the various Orders of the Clergy, to guide them in all matters of religion, the priesthood with bishops (*i.e.* overseers) at their head who were regarded as the successors to the authority of the Apostles of our Lord, and minor (that is, lesser) orders of helpers. Clergy, clerics, clerks, churchmen are all names used for this class throughout the Middle Ages—as distinguished from the 'laity' whose lives were not specially dedicated to the religious life.

The Papacy.

From the time when Constantine recognised the Christian religion, the churchmen began to exercise a great influence in politics as well as in religion, and from a very early time the Bishop of Rome (the Pope) claimed authority over the whole Church, clergy and laity alike, and over all other bishops, as the successor of

St. Peter the chief of Christ's Apostles and first Bishop of the Roman Church. And because other bishops disputed this authority, the Church later became divided into two, the Eastern or Greek, and the Western or Latin, the west acknowledging the authority of the Pope and the east that of the 'Greek' clergy.

2. The Barbarians.

THIS division of the Church followed after the division of the empire. At the end of the fourth century the Teutonic tribes were battering the Roman frontier on the Rhine but still more on the Danube, and two brothers were reigning as joint emperors, one in Italy (that Honorius who brought the last legions away from Britain) and the other at Constantinople. The most powerful of the Teutonic tribes were the Goths who, early in the fifth century, made themselves masters first of Italy, then of southern Gaul, and then of Spain. After that time, the line of emperors went on ruling at Constantinople, but could hardly ever enforce their authority in Italy or further west. The Goths were cleared out of Italy, but their place was taken by other Teutonic invaders, chiefly the Langobards or Lombards who gave their name to the part of Italy, in the north, which is still called Lombardy. At the end of the fifth century the Teutonic Franks broke over the Rhine into northern Gaul, and quickly spread over the whole of it; from them came its modern name France. But Lombards and Franks and Goths were never more than a small portion of the population of Italy and France and Spain, where the Roman institutions never died out, and the Latin tongue held its own against the German—so completely that modern French and Spanish are as Latin as the Italian language itself, with hardly a trace of German in them, and in some corners, Brittany and Gascony, the still earlier Celtic and Iberian tongues (Breton and Basque) survive to this day. But when the Frankish kingdom was founded, the rule of the Roman Empire in the west of Europe had passed away for ever.

Sixth-century Europe.

So, two hundred years after the Romans left Britain to take care of herself, this was the state of things in what had been the Roman Empire. An emperor was still reigning at Constantinople; but in Europe his dominion extended only over the Balkan peninsula, though he still ruled over the old empire in the west of Asia and Egypt and the African lands between the Mediterranean Sea and the desert. All of what had been Gaul from the Rhine on the north-east to the Pyrenees on the south-west was ruled by the series of Frankish kings who are called the Merovingians or Merwings; the

Goths ruled over Spain. And in the meanwhile the Angles and Saxons—the English—had crossed the sea and were masters of the greater part of what we now call England. Lombards were ruling in most parts of Italy. All these Teutonic conquerors except the English had given up the worship of their old gods and were professed Christians, who acknowledged the Pope as the head of the Christian religion and ruler of the Church, though the bishops in the part of the old empire where the emperor still ruled refused to do so. But still all over the middle of Europe, east of the Rhine and north of the Danube, the wilder Teutonic tribes were pagans who worshipped their old gods.

Now let us look on to the next two centuries, the seventh and eighth—the six hundreds and seven hundreds. The first thing that happened was the rise of a new religion, a fighting religion, in the East. It was born in Arabia where the existing religion was a mixture of old idolatrous beliefs with some ideas borrowed from the Jews and others borrowed from Christianity. The prophet of the new religion, which his followers called *Islam*, 'The Faith,' was Mahomet or Mohammed, a man who certainly began by believing that he was an inspired messenger of God like the old Hebrew prophets such as Moses and Samuel and Elijah, of whom he counted Jesus the last. The Arabs claimed that they were descended from Ishmael, son of Abraham, and that the God whom Mohammed worshipped by the name Allah was the God of Abraham and of the Hebrews and of the Christians; but Mohammed declared that Christ was not the Son of God but only a great Prophet, and that Allah was now revealing the one true Faith through his prophet Mohammed—all who rejected his teaching were infidels, and it was the right of True Believers to rule over them.

3. Mohammed.

Mohammed was persecuted at first, because he attacked some of the pagan superstitions in which most Arabs believed; and as the Christian world dates everything from the birth of Christ, so Mohammedans date everything from the year of the *Hijra* or *Hegira*, that is, of the flight of Mohammed from his persecutors in the year A.D. 622, which is their year One. However Mohammed triumphed after all. The Arabs adopted the new faith and were beginning to spread it beyond Arabia by conquest when Mohammed died. His successors as head of the Mohammedan world, who bear the title of Khalif to this day, from the first went on with the work of conquest.

By the end of the seventh century the 'Moslems,' or 'Saracens' as

The Saracens.

they presently came to be called, had conquered Syria and Mesopotamia, Persia beyond the Euphrates valley and the mountains on the east of it, Egypt and all the African dominions of the empire, and were pressing across the strait of Gibraltar into Spain, and sweeping up to Constantinople. There, however, they were stopped and rolled back beyond Asia Minor, which was all that was left, outside of Europe, to the Christian empire of Byzantium or Constantinople. They conquered three-fourths of Spain, and then their hosts flooded over the Pyrenees into France, but there in 737 the great Frank captain Charles Martel put them utterly to rout in a great battle at Poictiers, often called the battle of Tours, and flung them back into Spain. They never passed the Pyrenees again. But their fleets swept over the Mediterranean, gave them possession of Sicily, and raided the shores of Italy; and the power of the Saracens in the east was an endless threat to all Christendom, because the Moslems held it a sacred duty to spread the Faith by conquest, and the emperors at Constantinople were hard put to it to hold them back.

4. The Franks.

MEANWHILE in western Europe the old Roman civilisation had been submerged by the tide of Teutonic barbarism, and there was little enough that could be called government anywhere during all those centuries. The Franks called the Merovingians their kings, but did not obey them, and men ruled for the most part by the strong hand; and so it was with the Lombards in Italy who never even acknowledged one king, and with the Goths in Spain who were driven up into the mountainous corners of the country by the Saracens or Moors. In the Frankish kingdom matters began to improve when Charles Martel—who was not king, but was a great noble and a great warrior—took the rule into his own hands, without calling himself king. His rule was carried on by his son Pepin, who dropped the pretence of being a 'subject' of the powerless Merovingian prince, and was crowned King of the Franks—having obtained the Pope's approval, in order that he might secure the support of the churchmen.

Charlemagne.

Pepin subdued the Lombards in the north of Italy, by coming to the aid of the Pope whom they were trying to oppress. Like his father he made the Frank nobles obey him and use the troops which they raised on their own estates to fight in his armies. He was succeeded by his son Charles the Great, who is best known by his French name Charlemagne. Charlemagne waged war on one side against the Saracens in Spain, and on the other against the German tribes across the Rhine, whom he subdued after several wars and forced to be baptized and become Christians. And he finished the conquest of the Lombards, which his father had not chosen to complete. Thus he held under his rule a greater dominion than any one since the Roman Empire had broken up. But besides this, when he went to Rome to greet the Pope after crushing the Lombards, the Pope crowned him Emperor (on Christmas Day, 800) and proclaimed him the heir of the Caesars in place of the emperor at Constantinople whose authority had long ceased to count in western Europe. This was the beginning of the 'Holy Roman Empire' which lasted for just over 1000 years and came to an end in 1806.

Feudalism.

In Charlemagne's time, what is called the Feudal System was taking shape—that is, feudalism grew out of the way in which he arranged the government of his empire. Over the various parts of it he set officers, with titles which had been used in the later Roman Empire, Dukes (*duces*, leaders) and Counts (*comites*, companions), whose business it was to keep order and enforce the law. Within the territory over which he had been set, the duke or count was the lord whom every one had to obey. Sometimes the bishop was given the governorship instead of a duke or count; but all were appointed by the emperor to act as his officers and to carry out his orders. Feudalism grew up, because it became the custom for a duke or count to be succeeded on his death by his son, so that in course of time the succession became 'hereditary,' passing from the father to the son as a matter of course. Thus these dukes and counts became so powerful that each of them was almost independent; but this did not come till after Charlemagne's death when his empire had been divided among his descendants, and had broken into three dominions—the German on the east, the Burgundian or middle kingdom, and the French kingdom in the west.

In England, these two centuries, the seventh and eighth, are often called the period of the Heptarchy (which means the Seven Kingdoms), because it used to be supposed that the country during that time was divided between seven kings, though this was never exactly true.

IV. The English Conquest: 407-613.

Britain Adrift—The English Invasions—The Final Conquest.

The Roman occupation of Britain ended in 407. What had its effects been?

1. Britain still Celtic.

In the first place, it stopped the Britons from 'developing' naturally along their own lines. It brought to bear upon them the much more advanced civilisation which had grown up during the last thousand years in the south of Europe, a time when the Celts and Teutons in the north had been progressing much more slowly. Instead of improving their own institutions by experience, the Britons had to fit themselves into the foreign institutions which their Roman rulers brought with them. Judging by Ireland and the Scottish Highlands where the Roman institutions never penetrated, they would not have progressed much if the Romans had left them alone. But in three centuries they had got into the habit of living under Roman institutions controlled by Roman officials, and leaving the defence of the country to professional soldiers led by Roman officers, so that when the Romans went away they were without experienced rulers or military leaders. The old clan and tribal organisation had almost died out, while there was no one left who understood how to keep up the Roman organisation which had taken its place. They had enjoyed prosperity for three hundred years under Roman rule, but had not learnt how to preserve it without the Roman rule.

The Romans had begun by putting down the Druids and the old Druidical religion because it practised barbarous rites such as human sacrifices. The worship of the old Celtic gods had easily been transformed into the worship of the same gods under Roman names. When Christianity was accepted by the Roman world, it was accepted by Roman Britain; apart from Christianity, the Britons, after the Romans departed, kept hardly anything which they had learnt from the Romans. But they still had just those Celtic institutions and traditions which had remained among them in spite of the Roman influence. The British people in fact had never become really latinised like the Celts in Gaul and Spain and the north of Italy. They even kept their own Brythonic speech all through the Roman occupation, and the Latin language disappeared from the country along with the Roman legions. To this day their descendants in Wales use the same Celtic speech in preference to English.

The Romans built the great roads to which the English afterwards gave their own names—Irmin Street from London to York, Watling Street from London to Chester, the western road to Bath, the cross-road called the Fosse Way from Exeter to Lincoln, the Southampton Road, and the Dover Road; with great fortresses at some points such as Eboracum (York), Lindum (Lincoln), Deva (Chester), and smaller fortified camps which we know sometimes by their remains, sometimes because the name *castrum* (camp) has survived through the ages as at Chester, Cirencester, Doncaster, and so on, to which people gathered for trading. Wealthy Romans and Roman officers built themselves villas, remains of many of which have been found. Learned people argue that some Welsh and even some English institutions or customs were really 'survivals' of customs planted by the Romans, though other learned people do not agree with them. But broadly speaking it is not easy to see that the later history of Britain would have been different if Aulus Plautius and Agricola and Hadrian had never crossed the Channel.

Roman traces.

When the Roman legions went away, and no more Roman governors were appointed, the Britons had to take care of themselves. For the purposes of government, the Romans had probably divided the country into districts, according to the principal tribes, leaving each district to manage its own affairs in its own way—so long as 'its own way' was not inconvenient to the Roman authorities; and many Britons had joined the regiments or cohorts in the army which were made up not of Roman citizens (like the legions) but of the other peoples, Gauls, Spaniards, and so on, who were subjects or 'allies' of the empire. So now the Britons set about governing themselves very much after the old tribal fashion; but the Romans having gone, there was no single superior authority recognised by all the tribes or districts. In fact the country was on the way to becoming what it had been in the past—a collection of small kingdoms or chieftainships.

Breaking up.

At first there were enough trained fighting men to keep back the tribes of the Picts in the north and the Gaelic Celts from Ireland, who were ready to harass the western shores when they knew the Romans had gone. But the men who had served as soldiers and learnt the business of fighting under Roman officers were not able to train troops of their own countrymen in the same fashion. They died out, and the Britons found themselves hard pressed by the Picts and the Scots—bands of Irish who settled on the west coast of

2. Picts and Scots.

Caledonia, which as a result presently came to be called Scotland. Besides this the Britons fell to fighting each other, so that their power of resisting an enemy from outside became less and less. And finally the Saxons, who had been kept off by Roman fleets in the Channel and the North Sea, renewed their raids when Rome gave up any attempt to protect Britain.

And so in an evil hour it befell that some British princes thought of calling in one set of enemies, and rewarding them for help against another set of enemies—whether Picts and Scots or rival British princes.

Hengist and Horsa.

No one wrote down the history of what happened till more than a hundred years after the Romans had gone. Then the legends and traditions began to be written down. The story runs that a British prince named Vortigern, who was ruling in the south-east, where Cassivellaunus and Caratacus had reigned centuries earlier, called to his help in 449 two brothers from Juteland over the sea, Hengist and Horsa, married Hengist's daughter, and gave the brothers some land in Kent as a reward for their services. Seeing that the land was good and the people unskilled in war, Hengist and Horsa sent messages to their friends and kinsfolk in Juteland, and Vortigern found too late that he had called to his aid not servants but masters. Vortigern's gallant son Vortimer made a stout stand against the dangerous guests, and almost drove them out; but when he had been killed in battle, and fresh hosts came over, the south-east was completely conquered by the invaders in a few years.

Saxons and Angles.

More hosts of Saxons followed the Jutes, and the invaders drove the British back after many hard-fought battles, till the tide of conquest was stayed by the British King Arthur in a great fight at Mount Badon—which may have been in the neighbourhood of Bath—in 520. King Arthur is not named by the first British chronicler Gildas, who was born in that same year, and says the victory was won by 'the only Roman remaining,' Ambrosius Aurelianus. The later Saxon chroniclers relate that in the meantime a horde of Saxons, under a leader named Ella, landed in Sussex (the land of the South Saxons), which in those days was cut off from the neighbouring counties by almost impassable woods, destroyed the entire British population there, men, women, and children, and set up his own little kingdom of the South Saxons, which remained separated from the Jute kingdom of Kent. How much of all this is true no one can say, as it all happened before Gildas the earliest chronicler was born. The names of Vortigern and King Arthur only appear in still later chronicles.

But Arthur became a legendary hero among the Britons, and we can be fairly sure that he was a real captain—though probably not a king—who did win great victories over the Saxons and stop their advance for a time.

Gildas gives blood-curdling descriptions of the terrible things that were supposed to have happened before he was born. He was a Christian and a monk, the Saxons were wild and blood-thirsty heathen, and he paints them in the blackest colours. He would have believed any stories that were told about them. But what he says about things in his own lifetime—between 500 and 550—is probably not far from the truth. He tells us nothing about the wars and struggles in the north, beyond the Humber (the part of the country afterwards called Northumbria); but clearly what happened in the south was this.

Conquest in the South.

The hordes of invaders landed on the south and east coasts, and drove the Britons before them—between 449 and 501—to the west, out of the Midlands over the valley of the river Severn, and south of that as far as Dorset and Somerset. Along that line they were then stopped and driven back; and while Gildas was living there was a broad belt of territory where neither Britons nor Saxons could abide in safety. All over the country east of that belt, the Britons who had not escaped by flight to the west had either been slain in battle, or slaughtered in cold blood, or had been spared only to be the slaves of the conquerors. But for about fifty years, from 500 to 550 or thereabouts, there was no advance across that belt, though the Britons in Wales and 'West Wales,' as the country south of the Bristol Channel was called, could make no attempt to recover the lands from which they had been driven.

3. The Conquest completed.

Then, according to the later Saxon chroniclers, there came a fresh start, with the arrival of the last wave of Saxons and Angles, the horde or tribe who, for no very clear reason, gave their name, the 'English,' to all the rest. A fleet of English adventurers under a chief named Ida struck at the country farther north; these raiders began to establish themselves on the coast between the Humber and the Firth of Forth; and this was the beginning of the kingdom of Northumbria.

From about 560 the English were pushing forward again everywhere. On the south of the Thames valley, the West Saxons under their king Ceawlin drove westward and won a victory at Deorham (in 577) on the way to Bristol which carried the kingdom of the West Saxons

(Wessex) to the sea and severed the Britons of Wales from those of 'West Wales.' This Ceawlin is said to have been the third king of the West Saxons. Tradition said that the first was named Cerdic, who was the ancestor of all the kings of the royal house of Wessex, who became kings of all England. But nothing is really known of those who came before Ceawlin. While he was pushing forward in the south, the Angles in Northumbria slowly subdued the North Britons or pressed them gradually back into the mountainous west country between the Clyde in Scotland and the Mersey in England. It was not till 613 that a Northumbrian king forced his way to the western sea by a great victory near Chester, so that just as Ceawlin had severed the Britons in Wales from those in the south of England, this king Ethelfrith severed them from those in Cumbria or Strathclyde, from the Mersey to the Solway and from the Solway to Clyde-mouth.

Scotland and Wales.

Although, according to the story, Hengist and Horsa were first called in to fight the Picts and Scots, these northern peoples cannot possibly have been attacking the south of Britain, and nothing more is heard of them in the accounts of the English conquest until Aidan, king of the Scots, appears as making war on Ethelfrith of Northumbria. There certainly was a Pictish kingdom in the north, and a Scot kingdom called Dalriada in the west, of Scotland by this time; and no doubt they all took alarm when the English began to advance inland from the coast. But when they attacked Ethelfrith they were defeated with such slaughter at Dawston that they never tried the experiment again. This was not long before the battle of Chester, which may be counted as the last stage in the conquest of England; for Wales was never subdued but remained entirely Briton, while both Strathclyde and 'West Wales'—or at least Devon and Cornwall—continued for centuries to be more Celtic than English.

V. The Early English Kingdoms: 590-800.

Ethelbert and Augustine—Rise of Northumbria—The Church in England—Waning of Northumbria—Rise of Mercia—Mercia and Wessex.

1. Rise of English Kingdoms.

At the end of the sixth century we find England divided into a number of kingdoms. South of the Thames valley there were three. The first of these was Kent, which had been settled by the Jutes for more than a hundred years; it had not been attacked by the Saxons and Angles who came after the days of Hengist and Horsa, so that compared with the rest of the country it had enjoyed peace and orderly rule. Being so near France it was the only part which had communications with the Frankish kingdom, and its king Ethelbert had married Bertha, a princess of the Merovingian house which was still reigning over the Franks. Next to Kent was the little kingdom of Sussex, cut off from the rest, and then the Wessex or West Saxon kingdom stretching away as far as Somerset. North of the mouth of the Thames was the East Saxon kingdom of Essex, and above it the South Folk and North Folk of the kingdom of East Anglia. The Midlands were becoming a separate Anglian kingdom called Mercia, the 'kingdom of the marches or borders' because one side of it was on the 'marches' of Wales. And beyond the Humber was Northumbria.

Celtic and Latin Churches.

All the English were still pagans, but the Britons in West Wales and Wales and Strathclyde were Christians. The Irish had become Christians early in the fifth century, converted by St. Patrick, and Irish missionaries of whom the chief was St. Columba converted the Scots—if they were not already Christians when they came over from Ireland and founded the Scots kingdom of Dalriada. But the British Isles were so completely cut off from the rest of the world that differences grew up between the teachings of the 'Celtic' Church and the 'Latin' Church of western Europe, of which the Pope was the head.

While Celtic missionaries were at work among their own kinsfolk in the far north, they had made no attempt to convert the heathen conquerors in the English lands. The strongest reasons we have for believing that in the lands first conquered the Britons had been almost exterminated are that their language disappeared, and that there is no sign at all of the Christian religion having survived anywhere. But at this time, the Latin Church of Rome began to spread the Gospel among the English. For Gregory I. (the Great) was now Pope; and he, long before he became Pope, had been inspired with a resolve to bring the English into the Christian fold. The story of the captive English children in the Roman slave-market, whose beauty made Gregory say that they were 'not Angles but Angels,' is one which has been taught to most English children in their earliest history lessons.

Augustine.

Ethelbert of Kent had married Bertha the sister of the king of the Franks. The Franks were Christians, and she was a Christian though her husband, like all his people, still worshipped Woden 'the father of gods and men,' and Thor the warrior thunder-god, and Tyr and Freia (who gave their names to four of the days of the week). Ethelbert was known for a wise ruler and a just man. So Gregory resolved to send a band of missionaries to his court, to pray for permission to teach their faith to Ethelbert himself and to his people. At the head of the mission he set a learned and eloquent priest named Augustine or Austin. They were allowed to land; Ethelbert received them in great state, treated them hospitably, promised them protection, and gave them leave to teach and preach and pray. They soon began to make converts among the people and the nobles, for the English did not believe very fervently in their own gods; and when Ethelbert himself was baptized, most of his subjects followed his example (597) and so also did the neighbouring kings of Essex and East Anglia; for Ethelbert was regarded as a sort of superior king, or *Bretwalda.*

Augustine and his missionaries found so much to do in establishing Christianity thoroughly within the kingdom of Kent that they did not carry on much mission work beyond it. Gregory wished them to make friends with the Welsh Church, so that they might work together in Christianising the other English kingdoms and stop the wars between English and Welsh. But Augustine and the Welsh clergy could not agree; he wanted them to give up the teachings and customs which were different from those practised in the Latin Church, whereas they declared that they were right and the Latin Church wrong in these matters, so no agreement could be arrived at. It was a great misfortune that both sides insisted upon making so much of small disagreements which mattered very little, and forgetting that they were really at one about the things that mattered much. In Kent, however, Augustine's teaching was so successful that the Pope made him bishop over the Church in England, the first Archbishop of Canterbury.

2. Northumbria.

MEANWHILE Wessex and Mercia and Northumbria remained thoroughly pagan; as they were fighting all the time against British Christians, they regarded Christianity as an enemy-religion. At the battle of Chester, Ethelfrith slew the clergy, because he said they were fighting against him by their prayers just as much as the soldiers in the Welsh army. But the conversion of Northumbria was soon to follow.

Ethelfrith was killed in battle in 617, and his young kinsman Edwin became king in his place. Edwin was the son of King Ella of Northumbria: Ethelfrith had married his elder sister, seized the Northumbrian crown on Ella's death, and sought young Edwin's life. Edwin fled to East Anglia; the king Redwald fought against Ethelfrith, slew him, and gave the crown to Edwin, whom the Northumbrians recognised as the rightful heir—and the children of Ethelfrith escaped to Scotland. It seems odd to find that almost immediately afterwards on the death of Edwin's friend Redwald, East Anglia and Mercia and perhaps Wessex all acknowledged the king of Northumbria as their overlord, while he took the Kentish princess Ethelberga for his wife. The real power of Kent had passed to Redwald when Ethelbert died.

Edwin of Northumbria.

Ethelberga was a Christian; she brought to her husband a priest named Paulinus, and Paulinus converted Edwin. At that time, and for many centuries afterwards, the chroniclers—the people who wrote down histories of what was happening or had happened before—were always clergy living in monasteries, 'monks,' and the monks told many wonderful tales of the miraculous events which were reputed to have taken place. They tell us that Edwin recognised Paulinus as one who had appeared to him in a vision some years before and had promised to return and give him 'counsel of salvation.' They tell us also how Edwin summoned the wise men and captains of his council to hear what Paulinus had to say; and how one who was a chief priest said that their own gods were of no use to them, and another that it would be well to hearken to any one who could reveal the mystery of the unknown: 'for the days of man are as the flight of a sparrow through a chamber, coming whence no man knoweth, and going whither no man knoweth, out of the dark into the dark.' And then that priest flung down his challenge to the gods whom he had denounced, riding up to their temple, casting his spear against it with words of defiance, and then setting it on fire. This was so convincing that the whole council, and every one who saw what had happened, there and then embraced Christianity, which of course spread rapidly over all Northumbria.

Penda of Mercia.

Edwin was a ruler mighty and wise and just. Men said that in his day such peace and order prevailed that a woman might walk with her babe unharmed through the length of England. His rule stretched up to the river Forth near which he built his town which is now the capital of Scotland—Edwin's Fort, Edwin's *Burgh*, Edinburgh. Mercia and East Anglia, as we have seen, owned his sway. But neither the peace nor the power was very secure. Penda, the king of Mercia, was a great warrior, and held in scorn the new religion, whose followers, he said, did not practise its precepts. Penda rose against Edwin and overthrew him and slew him at Heathfield.

Meanwhile Oswald the son of Ethelfrith had been brought up among the Scots where he had been taught the Celtic Christianity. After Edwin's death he returned to Northumbria—Penda had gone back to Mercia—and was received as king. Order was restored for a time, and naturally the Celtic Christianity spread beside the Latin Christianity which Paulinus and Edwin had brought in. But like Edwin he ruled so successfully that Penda turned on him, treated him as he had treated Edwin, and slew him at the battle of Maserfield in 642. Still, Penda was more anxious to subdue the south than the north—Wessex had meanwhile been Christianised from Kent. Nine years after Maserfield, Oswald's brother Oswy was ruling in Northumbria. In 655 the rugged old heathen turned on Oswy, but was killed himself at Winwaed. That was the last fight for paganism. The old man—he was eighty when he was killed—in spite of his contempt for Christianity, had allowed any one who chose to turn Christian, including his own son Wulfhere who succeeded him as king of Mercia. For the rest of the century, Mercia was at least the equal of Northumbria in power. In the next century, the eighth, it became the leading kingdom.

3. The Latin Church established.

STILL, for the rest of the seventh century, after Penda's death at Winwaed, Mercia did not challenge Northumbria's supremacy in the north, and it was during this time, while Oswy and his successors were reigning, that the question whether Celtic or Latin Christianity should be generally adopted was settled in favour of the Latins. Till then it had not been certain. For though Northumbria under Edwin had been taught the Christian Faith by Latin missionaries from the south, Oswald and Oswy had learnt it from the Celtic Christians in Scotland, and some of the Celtic clergy were their closest friends ; and it looked as if the two Church parties would fall to quarrelling. The really important difference was that the Latins counted the Pope's authority as supreme and the Celtic clergy did not, but held to their own customs in spite of him. Oswy said that if one was right the other was wrong, it would not do to have Christians fighting each other over religion, and the question must be settled once for all. So in 664 a great 'Synod' or Church Assembly was held at the place afterwards called Whitby ; the arguments on both sides were heard, and Oswy decided between them. The reason for his decision sounds curious enough to us. 'The Bishop of Rome,' he said, 'is the successor of St. Peter ; St. Peter therefore is sure to be on his side. But St. Peter has the keys of the Gate of Heaven ; therefore it is good for us to be on the same side as St. Peter. Therefore we will be on the side of the Latins.' So Northumbria, like Kent, acknowledged the Pope's authority and the rule of the Latin Church in 'things spiritual,' and the rest of Christian England followed their example.

The Church in England.

Consequently the Church in England was organised as a part of the Latin Church with the Pope at its head. A very able churchman, Theodore of Tarsus, was sent by the Pope to be Archbishop of Canterbury, and it was he who gave shape to the English Church. At first there had been one bishop in each of the kingdoms; the kingdom was his 'see,' or 'diocese,' the district of which he was the overseer. Theodore divided up these great sees, so that there were many more bishops, and each had a reasonable chance of being able to oversee and control the clergy in his diocese. The see was divided into the smaller districts which afterwards came to be called parishes, each with its own parson to attend to the spiritual needs of his parishioners.

Besides these parish priests, the 'secular' clergy, a great many more were planted over the country in monasteries where they lived together a life apart from the world devoted entirely to religion. Women too, though they could not become priests, could retire from the world and live the religious life in nunneries or convents. The monks in the monasteries and the nuns in the convents all took special vows to live in poverty and chastity and obedience to their superiors. That meant that they gave up any property they possessed (though the convent or monastery might possess land and property) and could not marry, and obeyed all the rules laid down by the 'order' of monks or nuns which they had joined. The monks are also called the *Regular* clergy (as distinct from the parish clergy, the Seculars) from the Latin word *regula* the 'rule' of the order to which they had vowed obedience. The parish clergy had not joined any 'order' or taken these special vows; for a long time many of them held that they were free to marry if they chose, and as a matter of fact there were always numbers of married men among the secular clergy in England till after the Norman Conquest when stricter practices were enforced.

In all the wild times when war and bloodshed was raging over the country, monasteries were counted sacred places, 'sanctuaries,' where men and women were secure from violence, and it was only within their walls that men found leisure and safety to pursue learning—because every one else had to give up too much of his time to the art and practice of fighting.

4. The Kingdoms.

The period from the end of the five hundreds (the sixth century) to the beginning of the eight hundreds (the ninth century) is very often called the time of the Heptarchy or seven kingdoms; though two of them—East Anglia and Essex—were nearly always more or less subject to one or other of the two bigger kingdoms, Mercia or Northumbria. Wessex during the seventh century was establishing its dominion over the 'West Welsh' in the south-west of England—Somerset and Devon, where the Britons were certainly not exterminated or even enslaved, but submitted, mixed with the English on equal terms, and adopted their language and customs. At the end of the century it was a powerful kingdom, but had hard work to hold its own against the attacks of Mercia.

Northumbria.

For a long time after Winwaed there was peace between Northumbria and Mercia, which like Wessex in the south was establishing its dominion over the Welsh 'marches' or borderland. Northumbria, under Oswy's successor Egfrith, tried to extend its rule in the north over the Celts in the west in Strathclyde north of the Solway and Cumbria between the Solway and the Mersey. Most of Cumbria submitted; but Egfrith's advance in Scotland brought him into conflict with the kings of the Scots and Picts farther north; and at Nechtansmere in 685 they got their revenge for their great defeat by Ethelfrith in 603. Egfrith was so badly beaten that it was a very long time before Northumbria tried to renew the attack. When it did so, nearly eighty years after Nechtansmere, the Northumbrian king Eadbert met with another disaster almost as great. In fact for many centuries English forces, however successful they might be in the Lowlands, nearly always came to grief as soon as they tried to pierce the 'Highland line' beyond the Forth and got among the mountain passes where the Scots knew their way and the English did not.

The Monasteries.

Northumbria did not try to extend its dominion southwards; partly because it was generally kept too busy by its northern Celtic neighbours, partly because, after Egfrith, it generally had rather weak kings. There was one way in which the English suffered in consequence of having turned Christians. Though the monasteries which had been founded did a great deal of good, and gave happy and peaceful lives to many people, they taught other people to believe that they could best save their own souls and serve God by living the life of prayer sheltered from the storms and temptations of life among their fellows; and so men, who should have felt it their first duty to use their strength in helping their neighbours, protecting the weak, and maintaining justice and order, took refuge in the monasteries instead: and left undone the work which they ought to have done. Kings whose business it was to rule for the good of their people gave up their crowns to live the 'life of religion' instead of seeing that true religion forbids any one to shirk his duty to his fellows, especially those of whose welfare he has been placed in charge. They wished to do the right thing, and they were taught that it was better to be a monk than a king or a great lord, so they became monks and left their people to take care of themselves—sheep without shepherds. So the monasteries were crowded, and outside them disorder and violence grew unchecked.

This was very much the case with Northumbria. Order and authority needed to be enforced with a strong hand by men with a high sense of duty, and unfortunately the men with a high sense of duty were often misled and did nothing to enforce authority and order, while men who had no sense of duty enforced their own authority with the strong hand, on the principle that might is right. So Northumbria failed to unite England under her own leadership, and it remained divided.

Wessex.

Of course it was only now and then that a king left his throne for a monastery. There were others who knew that a king's first duty is to his kingdom, who ruled wisely and well like King Inė of Wessex who reigned there from 700 to 728. He gave his land good laws and saw to it that they were kept; he held Wessex secure against attack by Mercia; and the three south-eastern kingdoms, Essex, Kent, and Sussex, all owned him for their over-king though he had no lust of conquest. It was not till he felt that he had done his life's work and built up a strong and orderly kingdom which could safely be left in the hands of his successor, that he resigned his crown to a younger man that he might fulfil his own pious desire to make a pilgrimage to the holy city of Rome.

5. Rise of Mercia.

But the power of Mercia, no longer troubled by conflicts with Northumbria, had been growing too since the days of Penda; and when Ine was gone, Wessex was no longer able to hold its own against Ethelbald the warrior king of the Mercians. ('Ethel' comes into the name of a number of kings because it was really a sort of royal title; princes of the royal family born in the kingdom were called Ethelings or Athelings.) Ethelbald very soon forced Wessex and her three under-kingdoms or sub-kingdoms to own Mercia as their overlord. However, when he tried to conquer the north and attacked the same Eadbert of Northumbria who was afterwards defeated by the Scots, he was beaten. Perhaps it was this victory over Ethelbald which prompted Eadbert to his unlucky adventure in Scotland, and encouraged Cuthred of Wessex to revolt against Ethelbald and recover the independence of Wessex by a great victory at Burford in 752.

The check in the advance of Mercia did not last long. Ethelbald was murdered—the chroniclers commend him as a strong and just king but one whose personal vices deservedly brought on him the wrath of God. He was slain by the men of his own bodyguard, the chosen band of the king's 'thegns' or companions who were generally loyal to the death—as another story will show—so that he must have had some very unpleasant qualities to make them turn against him. After his death however, Offa, a descendant of Penda's brother, reigned mightily for forty years, and died in 796, four years before Charlemagne was crowned Emperor at Rome.

Offa.

Offa was perhaps the first king who could really be called king of England, since he compelled all the other kingdoms except Northumbria to own him as over-king. Even Penda, though he twice made war successfully on Northumbria, never tried to subjugate it, and Offa followed his example. None of the rest could stand against him—he left them their kings, but their kings were his vassals. Also he made war on the Welsh and brought all the 'marches' under his sway, driving the Welsh back into their mountains. He was too shrewd a soldier to set about conquering Wales itself—the Welsh mountains were nearly as fatal to English forces as the Scottish Highlands. But he drew a great fosse or ditch and rampart from north to south along the line which he chose to fix as the boundary between the Mercian kingdom and the Welsh principalities; remnants of it exist to this day, and they are known as Offa's Dyke. The fame of his prowess and power in England was so great that Charlemagne—king of the Franks, but not yet emperor—treated him on equal terms as a brother-monarch. One reason for this may be that he regarded Offa as king of England, and one of his own wisest and most trusted counsellors was an Englishman from Northumbria named Alcuin.

For though Northumbria had lost so much of its power since the seventh century the English monasteries and the English scholars had a high reputation in the western world of those days. Charlemagne had a great respect for learned and saintly men and gathered about him as many as he could. That was why Alcuin went to him; for Alcuin came out of the monastery of Jarrow in Yorkshire, where the

Venerable Bede had lived and died, who was accounted the greatest scholar of his time, and was one of the most lovable of men as well.

6. Cynewulf of Wessex.

WHEN Offa became king of the Mercians, Wessex had broken free from the Mercian yoke, but Mercia had not lost its hold on the three sub-kingdoms. He had been ruling some twenty years before he finally defeated the Wessex king Cynewulf, and some years later he set up a king of his own choice on the throne of Wessex. Cynewulf was a vigorous person, but he is chiefly interesting because of a story about him which shows in a lively fashion the kind of adventures that important people in those days might expect. Cynewulf had been made king in place of Cuthred's successor Sigebryht, whose crimes and vices had so disgusted the nobles of the king's council or *Witan* that they deposed him; and several years later Sigebryht's brother Cyneheard got his chance—and took it—of taking revenge on Cynewulf. He learnt that on a certain night the king was going to pay a private visit to a friend, taking with him only a few of his bodyguard of king's thegns. That night, with his own bodyguard of thegns (for he was a prince, of the royal family), he made a surprise attack on the house. Cynewulf was in time to spring to the door and defend the entry single-handed; seeing Cyneheard outside in the courtyard, he dashed out to slay him, but was himself overwhelmed by numbers and cut down just as his bodyguard arrived to aid him. The bodyguard refused Cyneheard's offer of terms, and fell upon his thegns, but were outnumbered and slain to a man. Early in the morning the rest of Cynewulf's bodyguard appeared on the scene. They refused to make terms with Cyneheard himself but offered terms to his thegns; who in their turn refused to desert their chief, and were slain to the last man in the fight that followed. A gory sort of picture of the times—but it shows how even in those wild days Englishmen—Britons we may say, for the chronicler notes that one of the slain thegns was a Welshman—were ready to give their lives rather than do what they held to be dishonourable.

Egbert of Wessex.

Offa died in 796, leaving Mercia the supreme power in England, and his own vassal Beorhtric on the throne of Wessex. Beorhtric died in 802 and was succeeded by Egbert. Egbert was descended from Ceawlin, the first really historical king of Wessex, who was supposed to be the grandson of Cerdic, so that the dynasty or royal family of Wessex is often called the House of Cerdic. Some people suppose that the West Saxons invented the story of Cerdic, in order to hide the fact that their first great leader was really not a Saxon at all but a Briton who became first their ally and then their chief; the best reason for this idea is that Cerdic's name looks as if it was really the Briton name Caradoc. All the kings and queens of England, except from 1066 to 1154, have been descended from Egbert and the House of Cerdic, so that perhaps when we hunt back to the beginnings of our history, we may believe that the blood of the ancient Britons runs in the veins of our own King George—if the Wessex kings were really descended from a Briton ancestor.

Beorhtric had been made king of Wessex when Cynewulf was killed, partly because Offa counted on his being a willing vassal of Mercia. Egbert, whose father had ruled the sub-kingdom of Kent, had tried then to get himself elected king of Wessex. When he failed and Beorhtric was elected, he thought it safer to take refuge in France as long as Beorhtric was alive; so when he came back and was chosen king of Wessex on Beorhtric's death, he had for a model the great Charlemagne at whose court he had been living for several years. This is perhaps the reason why he proved so wise and skilful a ruler that he overthrew the power of Mercia and brought under his sway all that had been Offa's, and perhaps more. For this reason Egbert instead of Offa is usually reckoned the first king of England.

VI. The Island Peoples.

The Celts—The English Conquerors—The English Ways.

1. Celts and English.

The Angles gave their name to the English people, though half of them called themselves by the other name, Saxons, which the Celts used for them. To this day wherever the Celtic languages are still the common speech of the people in these islands they call the English-speaking folk 'Sassenach,' which was the shape that 'Saxon' took in their tongue. At the time our story has reached, when Egbert became king of Wessex—that is, of the West Saxons—the English language (though it has changed very much since those days) was the common language of nearly all modern England; and the Britons who had been left in that part of the country, whether they were many or few, had got thoroughly mixed with the conquerors and had ceased to be a separate people. But the English had not got into one half of Scotland at all, or into Wales, or Cornwall, or into Ireland, Before we go on with our story, let us see what manner of folk these were—the two groups from one or other or both of which most of us are descended—the English and the Celts.

The Clan.

Both were really mixed races before they came up against each other at all; and both had reached what is called the clan or tribal stage, which in the growth of a people comes long before there is anything which can be called a 'state' or a kingdom. The clan is made up of a group of families which somehow or other have learnt for many generations to look upon each other as kinsmen, joined together by the ties of blood-relationship, bound by the same customs and owning the same chief as head of the clan. The tribe is a union of clans which have come to look upon each other as relations—not so near, but still in the same sort of way—and to own a common chief, usually the chief of one or another of the clans.

Kingship.

First it was the habit of the clan to choose its chief always from one family—when a chief died, one of his sons or brothers succeeded him. In the same sort of way the tribal chief was chosen by the clan chiefs; and he too came to be chosen nearly always from one family, till gradually there rose a rule of succession. That is, it became a rule very seldom broken that when a chief died there was one particular person who was bound to follow him in the chieftainship, either of the clan or of the tribe. Later still when tribes began to combine—which at first was nearly always in order to make war on some one else—the same thing happened. They chose one commander, a 'war-lord' for the war; the war-lord began to be looked upon as the head of the group of tribes in time of peace, and when his position became 'hereditary'—that is, when it became a matter of course that the chief of the group should always be taken from one family—he might be called a king. If the group lived in a settled territory, it was a kingdom. The families of the clan-chiefs were the 'noble' families; the clansmen were the 'freemen.' Captives taken in war, and sometimes whole clans or tribes which had been conquered, were sometimes admitted into the clans, and sometimes simply made subjects or slaves. As clans combined into tribes, and tribes into kingdoms, the division of clan and tribe grew fainter and fainter till it disappeared altogether; but some peoples have only quite lately got to that stage. Less than two hundred years ago, the clans in the Scottish Highlands were still as sharply divided as they had ever been.

Now when Julius Caesar came to Britain, the Britons were well on in the tribal stage, the tribal groups were passing into kingdoms, and the clan divisions had already almost disappeared; but that was stopped by the Roman conquest, though the tribal divisions remained in some degree. After the English conquest, the unconquered Welsh tribes began shaping again into small kingdoms.

Scotland.

The Gaels on the other hand remained divided into clans even when they were forming kingdoms, which generally meant that one clan or another was making its weaker neighbours more or less subject to it. During the three and a half centuries after the first English invasion of Britain, what is now Scotland was roughly divided into four kingdoms—the more or less English Bernicia which was part of Northumbria, Strathclyde or Galloway, the Scots kingdom, and the Pict kingdom which covered most of the Highlands. But every clansman obeyed the chief of his own clan, whether the chief obeyed the king or not. No one ever dreamt of disputing the chief's bidding.

2. The English war-bands.

WITH the English things went differently. They came over the sea first as bands of rovers, fighting-men whose trade was war, in search of plunder; which they preferred to staying at home and tilling their fields. They could not attack their neighbours of the same tribe in their own country; but a famous warrior could easily gather round him a number of adventurous men who took him for their war-lord, their leader against other folk who might be robbed. So they were mixed hosts, not always of one tribe. When they found they could plant themselves as masters in the new country, they came in swarms, bringing or sending for their wives and families. The captain of every band, its war-lord, became a sort of king, unless he joined himself and his following to another group which had led the way. Whenever a convenient spot for settling on was found, it was allotted to a group of his followers, until bit by bit the whole of England was conquered and settled. While the conquest was going on, the conquering bands in one part of the country generally made common cause under one war-lord against the Britons; so that after the first century and a half the whole was divided after a fashion into seven 'kingdoms.'

The settlement of the English.

Now, an invading band might be all of one tribe or it might be mixed; but when it began settling, it acted as a tribe—the 'host' or army so to speak counted as a tribe, and kept the regular customs of a Saxon tribe. When they came, they found a country in which there were a few big cities which had grown up round the fortresses where the Romans had kept big garrisons, and half a dozen great military roads connecting these garrison towns together, nearly all of them starting from London. In the north and west there were great tracts of hill-country or moorland; in the east there was a great tract of low-lying fens; in the Midlands there were wild forests. In fact a very large part of the country had never been brought under cultivation.

The English had no use for big towns. Their business when they were not engaged in fighting was mainly growing crops and breeding cattle or sheep, for food, for wool, for leather, and for farm work; since they used oxen where we use horses or machinery. In their old country, they had always lived in villages—the village being a cluster of farmhouses planted in the centre of the big patch of land which belonged to the villagers. So in the new country they settled in villages wherever there was a convenient spot.

The Villages.

In every host there were a number of family groups, parties of kinsmen. Often the patch chosen for settlement was allotted to such a party, and then the village took its name from the family. The common words for village were *ham* or *ton* (it was only later that *ton* became *town* and meant something bigger) or *wick* (which was borrowed from the Roman *vicus*). So the village where a Billing family settled was called Billingham; a Welling village was Wellington; there was an East-wick here and a North-ham there, and so on: a Ham-ton, a North-ham-ton, a South-ham-ton, and even a Ham-ton-wick. And of course names were given for other reasons, as to the village of Esk-ford or Oxford, or Cam-bridge, while plenty of the old Roman names survived, especially -chesters and -casters, which were usually places where a garrison had been kept.

3. The Township.

Following their old customs, each village, *ton* or *township*, looked after its own affairs. They were all very much on the same plan. In peace-time, each was a group of farmer families with their servants, with the farmhouses together in the middle of the patch of land marked out as belonging to the township, which was shared out among the farmers—not in one big piece to each family, but in strips—so many strips to each family. But one family's strips did not all lie together; the strips were in groups, and each family had a strip in each group, so as to make sure that the division of good and bad land was fair. Probably even at first every family did not have the same number of strips, but the common share seems to have been a hundred and twenty—all in different parts of the ground.

And each family did not work just on its own strips; the work on all was done in common, though each family took as its own what was produced on its own strips. At first it was the custom to grow crops on half the land each year and let the other half lie fallow so that the soil might not be exhausted; later the land was divided in three, and each of the three 'fields' lay fallow for one year and had two different sorts of crops on it in the two following years, so that there were always two fields under cultivation and one lying fallow. All the cattle grazed together; and round the whole lay a belt of waste 'common' land, not divided up, where every one could get wood, turf for fires, and keep pigs and poultry.

Hundreds and Shires.

The townships which lay near each other were grouped together, the groups being called 'hundreds,' probably because there had once been a time when each group was expected to supply the tribe with a hundred fighting-men whenever a raid or a war was on hand. The chief men of the townships came together in the meeting of the hundred—the hundred-*moot*—to settle matters of common interest, and the chief men of the hundreds in like manner met in what had been the assembly of the tribe or the host, and was afterwards called the shire-moot.

The Witan.

When we can begin to call the chief of a group of tribes or hosts a 'king,' we find that he has about him an assembly called the *Witan* (the wise men) or the *Witenagemot* (the meeting of wise men) with whom he takes counsel. Generally they are the chief men who happen to be at hand; but when there is business of importance—the choosing of a new king, a question of going to war, of settling what was the custom about some disputed points, or of ordaining a change in established customs, all the chief men and perhaps every one of the freemen have the right of attending the witan; though doubtless they seldom did so if it happened to be inconvenient to themselves.

The forces.

After the English became Christians, the leading churchmen, the bishops and the abbots who were over the great monasteries, were always important people in the witan. But if there was to be fighting with an outside tribe army or kingdom, the freemen from every township and hundred had to turn out in arms—so many men from each hundred, since some had to stay behind to carry on the farm work—each hundred with its own leader. A wooden shield, an iron cap, and a leather coat were the ordinary defensive armour, a long hunting-knife and a spear or a bill (which was often a scythe-blade fixed endways to a shaft) were the common weapons, swords and battle-axes for those who could afford them. They used the bow very little, and hardly ever fought on horseback. A big captain, who might have a share in several townships, generally had a bodyguard of his own called *gesiths*; the king's gesiths were called his *thegns* (comrades) and soon came to form a new 'nobility.'

A kingdom like Wessex had in it a number of shires, and generally the force raised in the shire, the shire-levy, was not expected to fight outside its own shire. In each shire there were a couple of officers appointed by the king—the ealdorman and the shire-reeve; the first being the king's deputy-governor and commander of the shire-levy, while the second had charge of money matters and the like. The ealdormen in these small English kingdoms played the part which Charlemagne meant to be played by his counts and dukes in his great empire.

CHRONOLOGY

To A.D. 800.

England.		Scotland, Ireland, and Europe. (Scottish and Irish events are printed in *Italics*.)	
B.C.		B.C.	
55 and 54.	Julius Caesar in Britain.	27.	Augustus, first Roman emperor.
A.D.		A.D.	
43.	Roman conquest begins.		
120.	Hadrian's Wall.	306.	Constantine, emperor.
407.	Roman legions leave Britain.	406.	Roman Empire divided.
449.	Hengist and Horsa.	410.	The Goths in Italy.
450-500.	First English conquest.	480-510.	The Frank kingdom set up.
550-613.	Final English conquest.	590.	Gregory the Great, Pope.
597.	Conversion of Kent.		
600-700.	Northumbrian ascendancy.	622.	Mohammedan era begins.
664.	Synod of Whitby.	685.	*Scots victory at Nechtansmere*
700-800.	Mercian ascendancy.	732.	Charles Martel at Tours.
755-795.	Offa of Mercia.	771-800.	Charlemagne, king of Franks.
787.	First Danish raid.	800.	Charlemagne crowned emperor.

CHAPTER II

THE ENGLISH KINGDOM: 800-1066.

I. Europe after Charlemagne: 800-1066.

The Partition of the Empire—Feudalism—The New Empire.

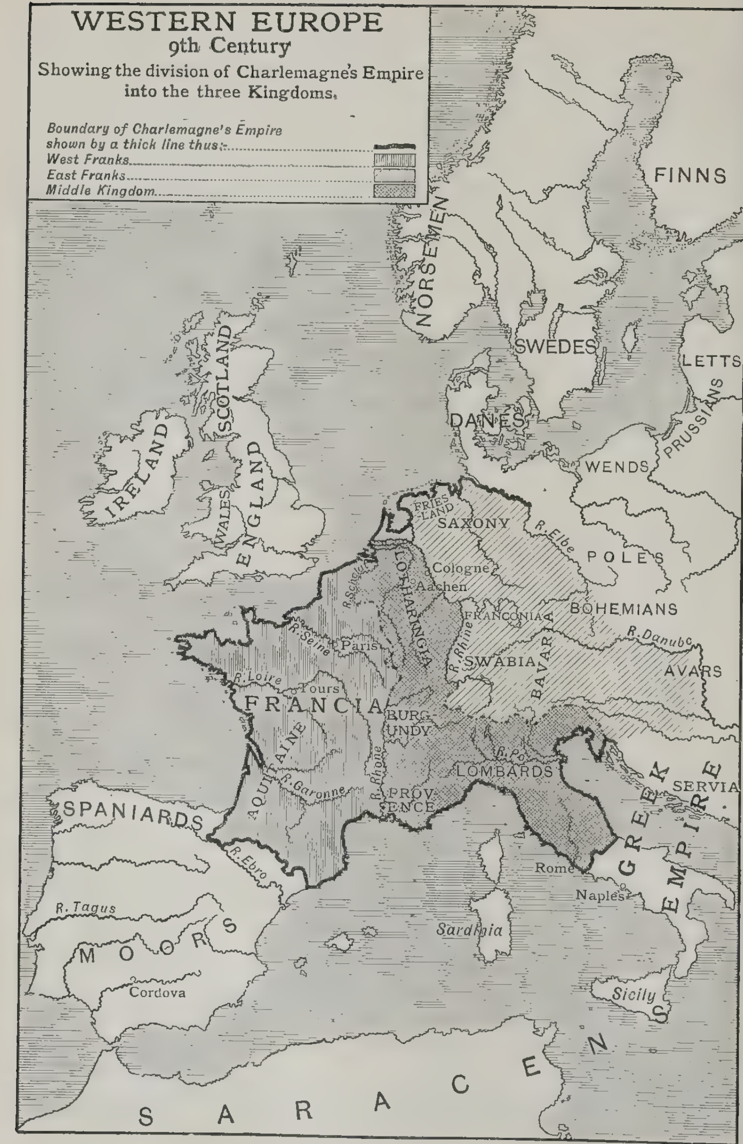
1. The Period.

Egbert became king of Wessex in 802, about three hundred and fifty years after the first English invasion of Britain. The next period of three hundred and fifty years falls into two divisions, that of England under the kings of the Wessex dynasty which ends with the Norman conquest in 1066, and that of the four Norman kings who ruled till 1154. The year 1066 marks a violent change, because it brought in new customs and new ideas from Europe, and forced England into touch with Europe with which, hitherto, she had had very little to do. But since, to understand the history of England, we must understand something of the history of Europe, we shall first sketch the European history of the whole period. and then proceed to the story of our islands.

Partition of the Empire.

Egbert came back to Wessex just after Charlemagne, the great king of the Franks, had been crowned emperor in Rome. After Charlemagne's death, his empire was divided among his grandsons into three parts; his descendants, who are called the Karlings or Carolingians (both words formed from his name, of which the English form is Charles), were the Frank king (in France), the German king, and the king of the middle kingdom which lay between them. Sometimes this was called by the name of its northern part, Lotharingia (Lorraine), sometimes of the central part. Burgundy; and what was left of it in the end, the southern part, was called Arles or Provence. In course of time some parts of the middle kingdom were joined to France, and most of it to Germany. If any of the three kings was crowned emperor, his sovereignty was recognised in Italy, but not otherwise.

Now all over the empire, the great nobles, whom Charlemagne had at first set up to govern as his deputies or lieutenants in the big



Emery Walker sc.

provinces or divisions of his huge dominions, became hereditary rulers in those provinces; that is, their sons ruled after them. Where a bishop had been made ruler, his successor in the bishopric ruled after him (they had no sons, since the clergy were forbidden to marry). The Karling kings in each of the three kingdoms had very little control over these dukes and counts, each of whom was practically a king though he professed to acknowledge one of the Karlings as his 'over-lord.' In the quarrels, the bishops were generally on the king's side, because they saw that under a king who was strong enough to make the nobles obey the law the country was much more prosperous than when every powerful noble could tyrannise as he chose over his weaker neighbours as well as over his own subjects.

Nobles and Bishops.

Soon after 900, the only Karling left was the king of France. The Germans elected a new German king, Conrad of Franconia, and after him Henry 'the Fowler,' Duke of Saxony. For a long time there had been no emperor, but the empire was revived by his son Otto the Great, who had himself crowned in Rome, and after this nearly every German king became emperor as a matter of course. The son generally succeeded the father, but one dynasty after another died out, and then a new emperor was elected. At this time the Germans were wise enough generally to choose the most powerful of the nobles, who in consequence had some chance of exerting a real authority. The Saxon line ended and was followed early in the eleventh century by the Franconian line, which in the twelfth century was succeeded by the Hohenstaufen.

The Empire revived.

In France, a Karling continued to be called king till the end of the tenth century. Then the line died out and a great noble, Hugh Capet the Count of Paris, was elected king. For more than eight hundred years afterwards, every king of France was a direct descendant of that same house. But it was a very long time before the Capet kings, any more than the Karlings, were able really to enforce their authority over the nobles who were supposed to be their subjects, because they could not count on the support of the other nobles, who were as likely to take sides with a rebellious noble as with the king. And there were generally nearly a dozen nobles each of whom could bring into the field more troops than the king could raise on his own estates. We shall see presently how these kings began to make it their business to get into their own hands by one device or another estates which had belonged to powerful nobles, until at last the domains held by the royal family covered half France. But that had

The French Monarchy.

not come about during our period, at the end of which one man—not of the royal family—was duke or count of half the duchies and counties in France. And that man was just on the point of becoming king of England as well!

2. The Feudal System.

Now everything that had once been the empire of Charlemagne—France, Germany, Italy—was governed under what is called the Feudal System, which grew up after Charlemagne's death in a form which it would not have taken if his successors had been equally strong rulers. The feudal system is not easy to understand, and is still more difficult to explain, but so much depends on it that it is quite necessary to have clear ideas on the subject.

It turns entirely upon land-tenure, the law by which people held the land on which they lived. Every foot of land in the kingdom was supposed to be the king's property; every owner of land held it from the king—he was the king's tenant, to whom the king had granted the land he held upon certain conditions. But he in his turn might grant parts of his land to other people, who were his tenants holding it from him, upon conditions. Nowadays the owner of a great estate leases parts of his land to tenants who pay him a fixed rent for so many years, at the end of which a new arrangement is made either with the same tenant or with a new one, as the landlord chooses. In the old days, however, the condition upon which the tenant held his land was that of either military service or agricultural service, or both, to his 'lord,' the man from whom he held it. And the lord could not turn him out, unless he broke the conditions; there was no time-limit.

We may distinguish those who gave only military service as vassals, and those who gave agricultural service (ploughing and reaping, and the like, on the land which the lord kept for his own use) as the peasantry. When the king granted a huge estate to some one, his vassals on that estate became the vassals of the new lord, who was himself the king's vassal.

The great Feudatories.

The great Feudatories as they were also called were, to begin with, the king's officers, ruling over provinces of Charlemagne's empire as his lieutenants; but it soon became the custom for the estate and the office to pass from father to son—to become hereditary. In the same way the lord's vassal was succeeded by his children. The biggest feudatories were called Dukes, Counts, Princes, or Barons, or Margraves if their estates were on the 'Mark' or border of Charlemagne's empire (Marquis is another form of the title). Consequently before very long, most of what had been Charlemagne's empire was divided into provinces under dukes or counts or princes—or perhaps bishops—some of whom had estates almost as big as those which the king or emperor kept in his own hands ; and as each of them could bring all his vassals into the field even against the king, a great feudatory, or two or three of them together, could defy the king unless the rest were ready to take the field on his side. Therefore unless the king was a very vigorous and capable person, he had very great difficulty in controlling his feudatories ; they were really a number of independent rulers who only obeyed him when they felt that he was strong enough to punish them and 'resume' or take back their estates into his own hands if they defied him. In the empire the great feudatories, whatever title they bore, are commonly spoken of as 'the Princes' ; elsewhere as 'the Nobles' or 'the Baronage.'

The vassal held his land from his lord on condition of military service, and of making on particular occasions payments which were generally called feudal fines or dues ; taking an oath of 'allegiance' to him, and 'doing homage,' that is, becoming his *homme*, his 'man.' The lord also swore to be 'good lord' to his vassal, whom he was bound to protect against wrong at the hands of any one else. If he failed, the vassal had the right of appealing to the lord's overlord or 'suzerain,' or of 'renouncing his allegiance.'

The Peasants.

The lord could legally demand from his tenants—whether they were vassals or peasants—only the services established by custom. The peasant tenant had to do work on the lord's land as well as on his own, but if the lord chose to oppress him there was no one to whom he could easily appeal for protection, and at the same time there was no one but the lord to protect him from being injured by some one else. Thus the peasantry everywhere were so much at the mercy of their lord that most of them became serfs with very few rights of their own, only a degree better than 'slaves' who have no legal rights against their masters. The men who were landless, if they were not already servants or slaves, had to take service with some one and become his 'man,' because otherwise there was no one to protect them and see that any one who did them wrong was punished. So that every one, whether landed or landless, had some lord who could lawfully command his service.

The general rule was that estates, big or small, passed from father to son, or were divided among the sons, but always under the same overlord. If there were daughters but no sons, the estate passed to the daughters, and so to their husbands; so that if the heir of a duke married the heiress of a count he got the dukedom when his father died, and the county in right of his wife; and in this way great estates became joined together. This was one of the reasons why a few families became so very powerful, since a great heiress nearly always married some one who was already powerful, and whose power was thus doubled. We shall see presently how the heiress of the duchy of Normandy married the Count of Anjou, and their son married the heiress of the duchy of Aquitaine; so that he became Duke of Normandy, Count of Anjou, and Duke of Aquitaine all at once—besides succeeding to the kingdom of England.

Vast estates.

3. The Emperor.

A HUNDRED years after Charlemagne's death his empire had broken up and was forming into the two great dominions—the kingdom of France and the Holy Roman Empire which comprised the German kingdom and Italy. But because of feudalism there was no strong, supreme, central government controlling the whole in either. In each there were a number of great feudatories who were really independent princes, and meant to remain so, while in each the king or emperor was always seeking by one device or another to make himself the real master of his feudatories. The German kings might have succeeded—because each of them after Henry the Fowler was more powerful than any feudatory—if they had been content to be German king instead of emperor, and to leave Italy alone; but their expeditions to Italy were always weakening their hold on the German feudatories, and when they were marching against rebellious feudatories in Germany their hold on Italy was weakened. Still, from the time of Otto the Great, the emperor was always the most powerful prince in Europe, during this period and for some time longer. But they always had this difficulty, that one dynasty or ruling house died out after another, a new emperor had to be elected, and the new dynasty had to start afresh: so in the long run the emperors did not succeed in mastering the princes.

The French King.

In France the kings started with less chance—for centuries there were nobles who were more powerful than the king. But after the Capets secured the crown there was no break in the succession, no change of the dynasty, no starting fresh, and by degrees the kings at last became supreme in fact as well as in name.

The old 'civilised world' of the old Roman Empire had included—in Europe—Spain and the Balkan peninsula. Spain does not come into our story yet, because there a constant struggle was going on between the Moors or Saracens and the Christians who were very slowly winning their way forward—without help—after Charlemagne's expedition. The Balkans were under the rule of the real Caesar or emperor at Constantinople; who left western Europe alone, because it was as much as he could do to keep his hold on Asia Minor against the Moslems or Mohammedans in the east and to hold the line of the Danube against successive hordes of barbarians.

Other countries.

The Barbarians.

These barbarians were also battering on the eastern borders of the German kingdom as once the Germans and Goths had battered on the Rhine and Danube borders of the Roman Empire. One of these hordes, the Magyars, built up the kingdom of Hungary on the east or Austrian marches (borders) of Germany; later, Slavonic tribes were about to create the kingdoms of Bohemia and Poland, and later still, of Russia.

The Northmen.

But there was also a new power growing up on the north-east of Germany, in Scandinavia—that is, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, and the shores of the Baltic, whence had come the old Goths to whom these people were akin. They were a wild seafaring folk, very much like the Angles; and while Charlemagne was still living, their roving 'long-ships' began to harry the coasts of England and Germany and France in search of booty. When a hundred years had passed, some of these Northmen or Danes had gained a permanent footing in England in the 'Danelagh,' and others in France; where their leader Rollo was made Duke of the Northmen's land, Normandy, and became one of the most powerful vassals of the king of France, Charles the Simple. Afterwards one of these dukes, William 'the Conqueror,' made himself king of England; and about the same time—the middle of the eleventh century—a group of Normans from Normandy made a kingdom for themselves in the south of Italy and Sicily. And meanwhile, though the Danes in the Danelagh and the Normans in Normandy were the subjects of the kings of England or France, Denmark had made itself one kingdom and Norway another.

Then soon after the Norman conquest of England, two great contests arose which had a tremendous influence on the history of the next three hundred years: the struggle for supremacy between the authority of emperors and kings on one side, and of the Church on the other—the Empire and the Papacy; and the struggle between Christendom and the Moslems of the east which we call the Crusades. Both of which it will be more convenient to talk of later.

II. The House of Wessex: 800-1013.

The Danish Raids—Alfred the Great—Kings of all England—
Ethelred the Redeless.

1. Egbert's supremacy.

When Egbert became king of Wessex, the king of Mercia was still recognised as supreme over all the other kings in England except in Northumbria. For twenty years Wessex was quickly growing stronger under its wise and patient ruler. Then the Mercian king made a wanton attack on Wessex, whereupon Egbert defeated and deposed him. One after another the southern kingdoms revolted against the Mercian domination; Egbert aided them; and within ten years all of them voluntarily acknowledged Egbert as their overlord—even Northumbria coming in, of its own free will. From this time (829) no English king challenged the supremacy of the House of Wessex.

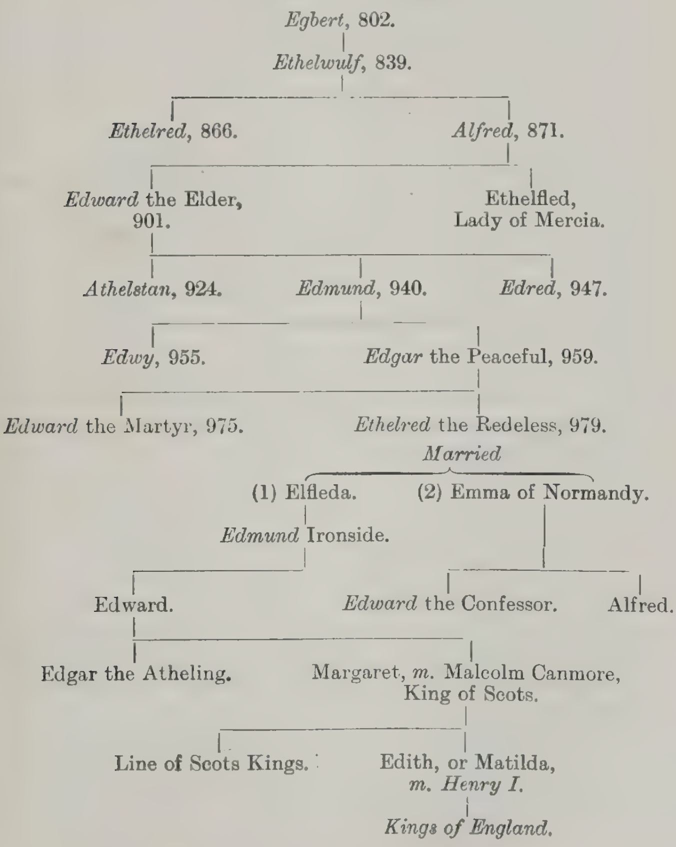
Just before Egbert's accession, the first Danish long-ships raided the shores of Northumbria. Egbert was already king of all England before they came again, as they were busy elsewhere. Meanwhile the Norsemen from Norway were raiding not the east coast of England, but the west coast of Scotland, the islands, and the east coast of Ireland. Twice, before Egbert died in 839, Danish raiders landed on the south coast of England, but had such a hot reception that they retired at once.

The Danish raids.

Egbert was succeeded by Ethelwulf. In his time the Danes began coming with bigger fleets. For a dozen years they came nearly every year, but they were still only seeking booty. Then in 851 they came in great force. Though some of them were defeated in a sea-fight at Sandwich, a big fleet came up the Thames and the Vikings (as the raiders were called) sacked both London and Canterbury, but were then badly beaten at Aclea, somewhere in Surrey. They came again in 855, when they wintered—for the first time—in the Isle of Sheppey, and in 860 after Ethelwulf's death, when they suffered another defeat. And then in 866, when Ethelwulf's third son Ethelred became king of Wessex and overlord or 'Bretwalda' of the rest, they began the serious business not of mere raiding but of conquest and settlement—all along the east coast, from Tyne-mouth to Thames-mouth.

For five years they left Wessex alone, and Wessex left them alone. England was so far from being united that the under-kingdoms of East Anglia, Northumbria, and Mercia had to take care of themselves, though Essex, Kent, and Sussex were no longer under-kingdoms but were shires of Wessex—and even in Wessex when it was invaded the invaders usually had only to fight against the levies of the shire or shires which they were attacking. The struggle with the Danes was not a war between England and Denmark, but between some of the English, and half a dozen hosts of Northmen out of Norway or Denmark who followed the standard of some chief or war-lord, the bigger chiefs being called kings, and the lesser *jarls*. The English called all the Vikings Danes whether they came from Denmark or not.

HOUSE OF WESSEX



The Danes made themselves masters of Northumbria, half Mercia, and East Anglia. And then in 871 they burst into Wessex. During the year there were half a dozen fierce battles, in which on the whole the Danes had the best of it, though they were badly beaten at Ashdown. However, they made terms and retired from Wessex contenting themselves with a big 'ransom' or payment which nowadays would be called an 'indemnity.' During the campaigning Ethelred of Wessex died and his younger brother Alfred became king, being then about twenty-one.

2. The great struggle.

For a time the Danes turned their forces to completing their conquest of Northumbria between the Humber and the Tyne, East Anglia, and the north-east of Mercia. Then in 876 they fell upon Wessex again but were driven out by hard fighting. In 878 came the decisive struggle. The attack was so sudden that Alfred had to fly and hide in the isle of Athelney in Somerset—where the story went that he annoyed the herdsman's wife, with whom he was sheltering, by letting her cakes burn on the hearth. However, the Wessex men rallied, made a great effort, and with the king at their head inflicted a defeat on the Danes which made them agree to a regular treaty, the treaty of Wedmore. Watling Street, the great road from London to Chester, was to be the boundary between Alfred's kingdom of Wessex and the 'Danelagh,' north and east of it, where the Danes remained in possession. The Danes—who had hitherto worshipped Thor and Odin or Woden, the same old war-gods as the old Saxon conquerors—were to become Christians; and their principal king or captain in the south—Guthrum—was baptized and had Alfred for godfather.

Alfred's army and navy.

The Danes in the Danelagh kept faith but the Vikings from Denmark and Norway were not yet done with. Alfred, however, had learnt two lessons from the wars—first that the English must learn again the ancient trade of fighting on the sea—which they had forgotten—instead of waiting to let the rovers land; and secondly, that it was not enough to lead armies to battle in the open—there must be fortified places to which they could retreat, and where they could defy attacks, as the Danes had done repeatedly. So Alfred set about building a fleet, and also *burhs* (our borough), fortified places in strong positions, which soon became the centres of large townships. And thus when Viking raiders did come, they were either beaten on the sea, or soundly beaten ashore if they came to land.

Before Alfred died, in 900, he had made his half of England into a stronger and better-governed kingdom than had ever been known before. He had started a navy; he had made new rules for calling up the *fyrd*, the shire-levies which together made up the army of Wessex. He made a code of laws which were to prevail all over the kingdom, taking from each part of it the customs which seemed best—for hitherto there had been great differences in the customs of different places, which caused confusion. Like Charlemagne he gathered wise and learned men together and encouraged the spreading of knowledge among his people. And by his own noble example he taught all who came near him to love mercy and justice, courage and piety, wisdom and truth, so that he was revered and loved by the whole people (and honoured by his foes too) more perhaps than any king in the world's history.

The great King.

By the treaty of Wedmore it had been agreed that English and Danes were to have equal treatment both in Wessex and in the Danelagh, and that Wessex was not to interfere with the Danelagh nor the Danelagh with Wessex. Once the Danes or Norsemen were settled in the Danelagh, the English there—especially in Northumbria and Danish Mercia—were probably as well pleased to have the Danes among them as to be ruled by the far-off kings of Wessex. For after all, both in language and customs the Northmen though different were not *very* different from the English themselves, and perhaps were very nearly as much like the Northumbrians as the Wessex people were. The Danelagh was not a single kingdom; throughout it the kings or jarls were no doubt Danes or Norsemen, but they had no common ruler like the enlarged kingdom of Wessex; some of them were ready enough to try for further conquests if they got the chance; and consequently soon after Alfred's death war broke out again between Wessex and the kingdoms of the southern Danelagh—Northumbria taking no part.

3. The Danelagh.

The two great English figures in those wars are Edward the 'Elder' and Ethelfled the son and daughter of Alfred. Edward became king of Wessex, and made his sister a sort of viceroy in Mercia. When fighting with the Danes began again, he left Mercia to her, while he took Essex and East Anglia into his own hands. Ethelfled went to battle herself, and generally led her armies to victory. Edward did the same; and so by about 920 the king of England had extended his sway over all England south of the Humber and the Mersey, and Ethelfled had made even the princes of North

Edward the Elder.

BATTERSEA PUBLIC

Wales own her brother as their overlord. This had been brought about by hard fighting; but the result was that, without any more fighting, before Edward's death in 925 every 'king,' Englishman, Dane, or Norseman, the Welsh princes, the kings of Strathclyde (including Cumbria, the part between the Mersey and the Solway), and finally the king of Scots, owned him as 'father and lord.' This did not in the least mean that they would pay the same respect to his successor. Still Edward himself was king of all England in a much more real sense than any one before him.

Also, long before the end of his reign Viking raids on England came to an end. In fact after the establishment of the Danelagh in England and of the Norman dukedom in France, the Northmen ceased to be the terror they had been to the seaboard of western Europe. Both in Denmark and in Norway the time had come when one of the many kings was succeeding in making himself king over all the rest by force of arms. Danes and Norsemen were too much taken up with struggles at home to make up big fleets for distant expeditions, though stray raiders still went about the old business of piracy.

Edward's sons.

Three sons of Edward reigned in succession during the next thirty years—Athelstan, Edmund 'the deed-doer,' and Edred. Three of their sisters married Otto I., the French king Charles the Simple, and Hugh Capet, Count of Paris, who was the real ruler of France—which shows that England was now counted as a very powerful kingdom. The three brothers were great soldiers, and in Athelstan's reign a grand alliance between the Danes in the north, the Northmen in Ireland, and the Scots, against England, was shattered at the great fight of Brunanburh; about which a famous war-song was written, which we may read in a modern English version written by the late Poet-laureate, Lord Tennyson. But for the most part there was peace and order and good government all over England.

Edgar.

Then came two sons of Edmund—Edwy whose reign was short, and Edgar the Peaceful, who like Edward the Elder was acknowledged as 'father and lord,' without fighting, by the kings of Scots and of Strathclyde and the Welsh princes—once, says the story, eight of them paid him honour by themselves rowing him in his state-barge on the river Dee. In those days the greatest man in the kingdom after the king himself was the famous Archbishop Dunstan, who had the government of the country very much in his own hands and made great efforts to make the clergy—'regular' and 'secular,' monks and parish priests—live stricter lives than they were in the habit of doing.

4. Ethelred the Redeless.

But after Edgar's death in 975 came trouble, and the powerful kingdom began to go to pieces. For his elder son Edward 'the Martyr' was murdered by his stepmother Ethelfled, who wanted her own boy Ethelred to be king. No one—it is not easy to understand why, under the circumstances—opposed his succession, and the reign of Ethelred the Redeless (which means 'lacking in counsel' or wisdom) brought disaster. Like Rehoboam the son of the wise King Solomon, he chose evil counsellors, and ruled so badly that the whole land fell into utter disorder.

Now at this time the Vikings were becoming active again. Since Alfred's time they had found that if they attacked England they would get there only hard fighting and no booty, so they had left it alone. Now they tried again; and as in the old days they found they had to meet not the swiftly gathered armies of a vigorous king, but only the hurriedly collected levies of a shire or two. The best thing Ethelred could think of was to pay them huge ransoms to induce them to go away—so of course they came back for more, and got it, year after year. At last Ethelred tried revenge; on St. Brice's day in 1002 he ordered a general massacre of all Danes in Wessex. Revenge is a two-edged weapon. One of the Viking leaders, Sweyn (a pagan who hated Christianity though he had a superstitious fear of it), had just become king of Denmark. Sweyn's revenge for St. Brice's day fell upon Ethelred: year by year England was more mercilessly ravaged than ever—not merely by Vikings, but by the armies of the king of Denmark, who at last resolved to make himself king of England.

The Danish Conquest.

Half England was as ready to submit to the king of Denmark as to suffer under the miserable rule of Ethelred. There were English patriots who offered a stout resistance to the invader; but when Ethelred himself fled to Normandy (his second wife Emma was the Norman duke's daughter), the patriots had no English king to fight for. The whole of the Danelagh had already declared for Sweyn who was acknowledged as king of England. Immediately afterwards he died. The Danelagh offered the crown to his fierce young son Knut (or Canute). The English witan preferred to recall Ethelred, whose eldest son Edmund 'Ironside' took up the cause. Happily Ethelred died, and then there was a hot struggle between young Knut and young Edmund, so evenly balanced that they came to terms, and divided England between them. But Edmund only lived for a few weeks after the treaty; his children were babies, and his half-brothers in Normandy were little more; and Knut, king of Denmark, became king of all England without opposition (1016).

III. The End of the Old Order: 1014-1066.

Danish Kings—Edward the Confessor—Harold.

1. Knut.

Knut, the son of Sweyn, was a very young man; and until he became king of England it had seemed that he would turn out a fierce and cruel barbarian like his father. But he had become a Christian, and proved himself a Christian king, very wise and just though now and then the fierce old pagan temper broke out. All through his reign England enjoyed peace and prosperity. If he had been followed by a successor like himself, it is probable that a great northern empire would have been set up, uniting England, Denmark, Sweden, and Norway: for he did actually add Norway to his dominions.

But what Knut aimed at was not a big dominion subject to Denmark, but the union under one crown of separate states each governed in the way best suited to itself. Such a union was possible under a very wise and strong man; but it actually broke up on his death because his sons had neither the wit nor the character to keep it together; so that both England and Norway broke away from Denmark, taking kings again from their own old royal families.

Knut's earldoms.

Still, the reign of Knut in England was important, not only because it was happy and prosperous, but because he made changes in the way of governing it which were good when a strong king was at the head, but not under a weak one. For he divided the kingdom into five great governorships or earldoms, in which under him the earls ruled with wisdom and justice; but when he died the earls became rivals, and the kingdom itself became disunited. His five earldoms were those of northern Northumbria (the old Bernicia, from the Forth to the Tyne or Tweed); Northumbria from Tweed to Humber, under the Dane, Earl Siward; East Anglia under another Dane; Mercia under Leofric, who was probably a Dane; and Wessex under Godwin, an Englishman who married a Danish kinswoman of Knut. The first of these had never counted for much in the English kingdom, and Knut does not seem to have cared when the earl quarrelled with the king of Scots, Malcolm II., who turned him out and took possession—so that thenceforth Bernicia or 'the Lothians' was a part of the Scottish not the English kingdom, and the Tweed became the boundary between them.

Knut himself had been *elected* king of England by the Witan on the death of Edmund Ironside, whose children were brought up in the distant land of Hungary. When Knut died in 1035 the Witan elected one of his sons, Harold Harefoot, while another, Harthacnut, became king of Denmark. Harold died in 1040, and Godwin managed to set Harthacnut on the throne. Both these young men proved themselves mere brutal barbarians; so when Harthacnut died of drink in 1042, England broke off the Danish connection altogether, and the Witan elected Edward 'the Confessor,' the surviving son of Ethelred the Redeless, who from childhood had been brought up and had continued to live not in England but in Normandy. The new king of Denmark, Sweyn Estrithson, was a nephew both of Knut and of the English Earl Godwin; but he did not try to claim the English crown, being more anxious to recover that of Norway, though his efforts were unsuccessful.

Knut's sons.

Besides King Edward, the only living member of the House of Wessex was Edmund Ironside's son Edward, far away in Hungary. The king's brother Alfred had come over to England, perhaps in the hope of getting the crown, when Knut died, but had been promptly murdered by Harold Harefoot—men said that Earl Godwin had part in the murder, though it was never proved and he always denied it.

2. Edward the Confessor.

Now with Edward on the throne, Godwin meant to be the greatest man in the kingdom. He was Earl of Wessex, a part of which had been transferred to his eldest son Sweyn; East Anglia was divided between his second son Harold and a nephew; his only rival was Leofric, Earl of Mercia, since Siward of Northumbria ruled the north and did not trouble himself about the rest of England. Godwin's daughter was queen of England, as he had persuaded Edward to marry her; though there were no children, since the king's peculiar religious ideas had led him to take a vow of celibacy. Everything was in his favour; for Winchester was the royal capital and the king lived in Wessex surrounded by Wessex influences, while Godwin's one rival lived in Mercia.

Earl Godwin.

But every one was jealous of the mighty earl, and there were two other great difficulties always in his way: first, the very bad character of two of his sons, Sweyn and Tostig; second, the foreign influences which in spite of him surrounded the king. Edward had lived in Normandy for thirty years; his personal friends were Normans; he was a religious devotee who cared much more about 'the Church' than about good government, and listened to the clergy more eagerly than to statesmen—the Norman clergy, who were very much stricter than the English and very much bent on making the king do their bidding.

The Godwins.

Sweyn behaved so badly that he was outlawed—sent out of the country—to the satisfaction of all decent people. Godwin persuaded Edward to pardon him and let him return, but the whole bad business weakened the earl greatly. He tried to recover popularity by championing instead of punishing the people of Dover who had been stirred to wrath by the insolence of a French kinsman of the king, and had shown their indignation by mobbing him and his followers. Folk were angry, too, because Edward made a Norman, Robert of Jumièges, archbishop of Canterbury, instead of an Englishman, Stigand. Still, they were not ready to rebel against the king, and Godwin with his sons was outlawed and had to take flight (1051).

The Norman party thought they had won, and showed it so openly that the tide of feeling turned in favour of Godwin. In 1052 he landed with Harold in Wessex, and this time it was the turn of the Normans to take hasty flight. The Godwin family were restored to their earldoms—which did not please the Leofric family on whom a part of them had been bestowed. Godwin was now beyond all question the most powerful man in the kingdom; but in a very short time he and Sweyn both died—Sweyn's earldom was given to his brother Tostig—and Harold Godwinson, now Earl of Wessex, became the real ruler of the realm.

Earl Harold.

Both in character and in ability Harold towered head and shoulders above any other man in the kingdom—at least after the death of old Siward of Northumbria (1055) and Leofric of Mercia (1057). His great desire was to establish such a unity in the kingdom as there had been in the days of Edgar the Peaceful and Knut the Wise—to begin with by reconciling the feuds of the Houses of Godwin and Leofric. As soon as he became Earl of Wessex, he restored the earldom he had previously held to Alfgar the son of Leofric—on whom it had been bestowed on the fall of Godwin in 1051 only to be taken away again next year. Alfgar was a person who was perpetually getting into trouble; twice his earldom was forfeited, and he joined Gryffydd (Griffith) prince of North Wales in rebellions (since Gryffydd more or less professed to acknowledge the king of England as 'father and lord'); both times, Harold, who was a fine soldier, crushed the rebels but persuaded the king to pardon Alfgar and restore him in his earldom. Alfgar became Earl of Mercia on Leofric's death, and was Earl of Mercia when he rebelled the second time; but after that there was no more trouble with him. Gryffydd, who seems to have been an unpleasant sort of tyrant, was slain by his own people, who cut off his head and sent it to Harold by way of showing that they made submission.

Edwin and Morcar.

There was more trouble with Tostig, however, as there had been with Sweyn before. When old Siward died, he left a very young son Waltheof, so Edward gave the earldom of Northumbria to Tostig instead of to the boy; and Tostig's rule was so bad that after a time the Northumbrians revolted, drove him out, and got Alfgar's younger son Morcar made earl in his place, the elder son Edwin having succeeded to Mercia in 1062. Tostig was outlawed, Harold refusing to take his part. Wherefore Tostig was very wroth, and set himself to find some ally abroad who would help him to his revenge. In spite of all Harold's generosity to Alfgar, the two sons, Edwin and Morcar, were still very jealous of the power of the Godwin family.

3. The Confessor's heir.

HAROLD would probably have been content to serve his country as a patriot under the Confessor's heir as well as under the Confessor himself, if the right heir could have been found. But who was the heir? Edward would not live long. He had no brothers and no children. His nephew, Ironside's son, had come to England only to die, leaving a small son and two daughters of whom one was later married to Malcolm III., king of Scots. The boy Edgar, called the Atheling, would naturally succeed if old enough when Edward died, but England could not risk having a boy on the throne. There was no one else of the House of Wessex. Sweyn of Denmark might put in a claim, as being Knut's nephew. William duke of Normandy was quite certain to do so, though his only title was some sort of promise that Edward had given him—and Edward had no power at all to settle who his successor should be. Every king, where there had been any doubt at all, had been elected by the Witan. England did not want a foreign king, and it was a moral certainty that the crown would be offered to Harold as the one Englishman who was certainly fit to be king.

And Harold had taken an oath to the Norman duke, to support his claim to the throne, swearing (though at the time he did not know it) upon certain relics, bones of long-dead saints, which were regarded as peculiarly holy. However it happened, Harold had somehow got shipwrecked on the coast of Normandy William had got him into one of his castles from which the earl knew that he would never escape alive if he refused to take the oath demanded of him. He took it and returned to England. Would he keep his oath or break it ? All good churchmen held that it was an oath of special sanctity, and that if Harold broke it he would be committing an unpardonable sin. Also every one believed that Harold could ensure the election by the Witan of any one he chose.

Election of Harold.

The Confessor died in January 1066. The Atheling was only sixteen. The Witan elected Harold king of England, and Harold accepted the crown. No patriotic Englishman or Anglo-Dane at that time could have looked upon the Norman's accession to the throne as anything but a national disaster, and for England's sake Harold broke the oath—which, half the English clergy declared, was not binding because it had been taken under compulsion. But the Pope, and the stricter clergy everywhere, denounced Harold as a blasphemer on whom the wrath of God would assuredly fall. William of Normandy set about gathering a mighty host to execute the divine vengeance on the sinner.

But William was not the only foe. Sweyn of Denmark might act on his own account, and Tostig was moving heaven and earth to get his own revenge. The ally he found was one of the most famous warriors of the day—Harald Hardraada, king of Norway—who was quite ready to set about the conquest of England. But Harold Godwinson's fleet held the Channel secure till a mighty storm arose and shattered it. Then while William waited for a favouring wind, the levies of Wessex gathered. The favouring wind did not come ; the levies grew weary of waiting. They were already breaking up when messengers from the north came in hot haste to announce that Hardraada and Tostig had landed in Tostig's old earldom of Northumbria.

Stamford Bridge.

With what was left of the Wessex levies Harold dashed north with amazing swiftness, gathering troops as he went. The invaders had routed the Northumbrian levies at Fulford, but Harold met them and shattered them utterly in a furious battle at Stamford Bridge. Tostig refused to desert his ally and both he and Harald Hardraada were slain on the field, with numbers of their followers.

But meanwhile the favouring wind had come. The Norman host had landed at Pevensey unopposed and was ravaging Sussex. The great victory had hardly been won in the north when Harold and his wearied troops were summoned to return hot-foot to the south.

IV. The Battle for England: 1066.

The Opposing Forces—The Great Fight—The English Submission—A Note on the Battle.

1. Importance of Hastings.

The battle of Hastings or Senlac changed the whole course of English history, because for four centuries after it the kings of England had great possessions in France which they held as feudatories of the French king, and because during a great part of that time England was governed not by Englishmen but by foreigners whose idea of 'the law' was not the English idea. That is one reason for giving it more attention than we can usually spare for accounts of battles. And a second reason is that if you once understand how this great battle was fought and won, you will also find it much easier to understand how other important victories were won during the Middle Ages.

Hastings was won by the Normans because they had three 'arms'—that is, three sorts of fighting men—infantry, cavalry, and archers (answering to the modern artillery), and a leader who knew how to make the best use of each of the three; whereas the English had only one arm, the infantry. And the second reason for the Norman victory was that their soldiers, though not a bit braver or more skilful in the use of their weapons than the English, were under better discipline and more obedient to orders.

The two Captains.

Harald Hardraada landed in Yorkshire, and routed the Northumbrians at Fulford on 20th September. Harold Godwinson got the news of the landing on 15th September, marched north some two hundred miles and shattered the Norsemen at Stamford Bridge (beyond York—not the town of Stamford, which is only half-way) on the tenth day (25th September): an impossible feat for any one but a very skilful general. On 28th September William landed at Pevensey, and within a fortnight Harold was back in London. On 13th October he had brought all the troops he could muster down into Sussex, and taken post on the ridge where the battle was fought next day.

William had been in England for more than a fortnight. He did not march on London, because the way thither was through difficult country and the farther he marched inland the greater would be the risk of his being cut off from the sea. He wanted the decisive battle to be fought near the coast. He ravaged the country round, in order to force Harold to come to its rescue. If the king had refused to come the duke would have been obliged to march in search of him—but Harold came.

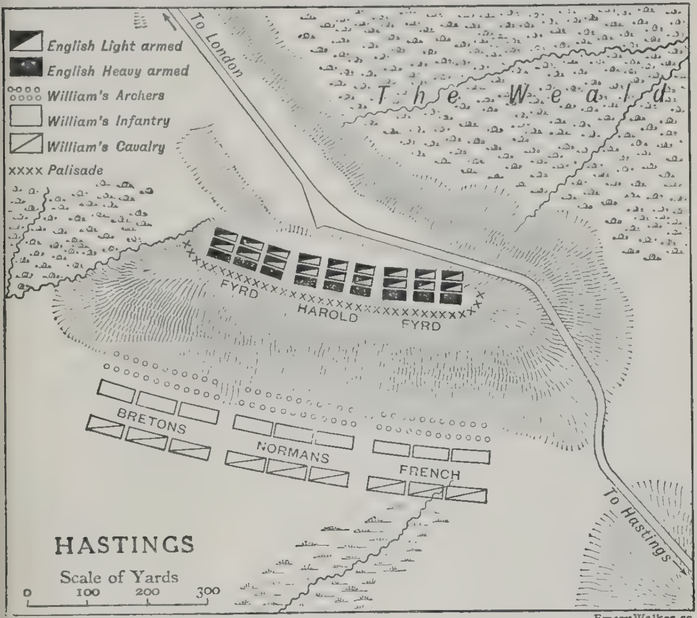
The English host.

The English army was posted on a ridge with its rear and left flank covered by country (called the Andredsweald) so rough and wooded that the enemy could neither get past him nor attack him through it. On his right also the hill was flanked by wooded ground, and along the front the slope gave all the advantage to the defenders. Some say that Harold made his position still stronger by making a palisade in front of his troops. This is denied by others. The best of all Harold's soldiers were the specially picked troops called the *huscarles*, a great bodyguard of disciplined men (much larger than the old bodyguard of king's 'thegns') which had been started by Knut. These were massed about the royal 'Dragon' standard by which stood the king himself in the centre of the whole array. On the right and left lay the Wessex levies (the *fyrd*), for the troops raised in Northumbria and Mercia had not yet arrived. Along the whole front was the shield-wall, the stout shields of the heavy-armed infantry with their bills and battle-axes, and javelins for casting at the foe; and behind these the larger masses of light-armed troops. If you look at the plan, you will see that no attack could be made by the enemy except by charging up the slope, straight against the shield-wall—or the palisade if there was one. There was no chance of turning either flank.

The Norman host.

Duke William had gathered a host of adventurers, not only his own Norman vassals, but from every part of France, especially from Bretagne, Brittany, where the people were of the same stock as the old Britons. These Bretons were on the left, the Normans in the centre, and the rest of the French on the right. They had joined the duke in the hope that when he was king of England he would reward them with English lands: and they counted themselves sure of winning, because the Pope had blessed the duke's banner and declared that the war was a Holy War, on account of King Harold's blasphemous perjury, the breaking of the oath taken upon the sacred relics.

The Normans had with them many archers. For William, who was the craftiest soldier of his time, knew that it was no easy matter to break into a line of stubborn infantry, unless gaps could first be made in their ranks. In after days many a battle was won by the English archers whose longbows could drive a shaft through most armour. But the mighty longbow was still unknown—the English were the only people who ever learnt to use it—and archery had never yet had much effect on mail-clad troops, though we shall see what great use William made of it. And then besides his infantry he had masses of cavalry with horses and men clad in mail—rings of metal making a sort of shirt, or metal scales fastened on leather.



Emery Walker sc.

2. The battle.

As long as the English line stood fast behind its shield-wall, it could beat off every attack. The archers began, but their bows were not strong enough for the arrows shot from a distance to make much impression. The infantry charged up the slope, but when they got within striking or thrusting distance the English had the advantage of being above them, besides being covered by the shield-wall. The infantry rolled back down the slope, and the cavalry thundered up it; but they could not break through the shield-wall, where bills thrust at them and battle-axes crashed on them.

The Bretons, charging on the Norman left, were so roughly handled that they broke and fled down the hill. The English who had beaten them thought the battle was won; instead of obeying Harold's order to stand firm, they broke their line and dashed down the hill in pursuit of the flying foe. The Norman horse in the centre seized their chance, wheeled, and fell upon the flank of the charging English infantry—and cut them to pieces.

The right wing of Harold's army was gone. It would not have gone if those valiant fighters had only understood that shrewd wits count more in successful fighting than valiancy by itself. They were undone because their valour though dauntless was undisciplined. But the disciplined huscarles, valiant as they, stood firm as a rock in their lines, only forming a fresh front on the flank which the disaster to the right wing had left uncovered. And still the waves of cavalry crashed on the rock in vain.

The Normans hurled themselves, in what looked like a last desperate effort, on the English left. Man and horse went down; like the Bretons, they broke and fled. Untaught by the fate of the right wing, the triumphant *fyrd* leaped from the ranks and rushed in pursuit. But—unlike the Bretons—the Normans had planned their flight beforehand, in order to entice the English from their lines. Suddenly the scattered horsemen drew together, wheeled, and charged on their pursuers, and rode them down.

The last stand.

The left wing was gone now; but still the serried ranks of the huscarles stood fast, immovable, around the Dragon standard, and still hurled back the Norman charges. Then William played his master-stroke. The archers were thrown forward, but now they were bidden to shoot aloft so that their arrows dropped like hail on the ranks behind the shield-wall, making great gaps in the front lines. The horsemen flung themselves against the gaps and broke through, driving in mail-clad wedges. They had all the advantage on their side now. Harold, men say, fell, his eye pierced by an arrow; but the huscarles fought on grim, desperate, unyielding, dying where they stood; till the night fell, the Normans drew off, and the few English who survived escaped into the darkness and the Andredsweald.

3. Surrender.

When Harold was slain and his army blotted out at the battle of Hastings, the English had no leader left who was in any way a match for the great duke, and no troops experienced in war or practised in steady discipline like the huscarles. The men of London, then and always, were ready enough to fight stoutly, as they had often proved in the days of the Danish invasions; but they were without a captain. Edwin and Morcar, the brother earls of Mercia and Northumbria, were young men, and unskilled. Men in the south said that if they had done their duty they would have arrived at Hastings with the northern levies, the English would not have been outnumbered, and the Normans would have been overthrown. But their forces had just been badly battered at Fulford, and they can hardly be blamed for failing to bring their troops up in time. And when Harold had been beaten, there was little enough chance that they would be able to make a successful fight.

William I.

They did not attempt it. The witan—what there was of it left in London, the archbishops and others—began by electing young Edgar the Atheling king; as they would have done when the Confessor died, if it had not been felt that Harold was the only man who could save the country. William disregarded the election. He waited till he had made Kent and Sussex secure; then he crossed the Thames, well to the west of London, so as to cut it off from any possible help from Mercia. London was in a trap; the witan saw that to submit was the only possible course; the archbishops and the Atheling went out to meet the duke and offer him the crown of England as its elected king. On Christmas day the crown was set on his head in the cathedral of St. Peter at Westminster, the first 'Westminster Abbey' which had been built by the pious Confessor. The kingdom had passed from the sons of the House of Wessex for ever, though a daughter of that house became the mother from whom all but one of the kings of England who have reigned since have descended. The Norman line began on the day when the Conqueror was crowned.

Harold Godwinson was dead. All his brothers were dead. Harald Hardraada was dead. The Atheling had submitted; so did Edwin and Morcar, the sons of Leofric, Godwin's rival; so did Waltheof, the son of Siward of Northumbria, who had been made Earl of Huntingdon, since his father's earldom had been bestowed first on Tostig and then on Morcar. One possible claimant was left to the crown which William had seized—Sweyn of Denmark, the nephew of Knut. How he fared we shall presently see.

More than two hundred years passed before another great captain made full use of the lesson which should have been learnt from Hastings.

4. Lessons.

The possible value of the archer was not understood. The arrow-flights there had won the day, but only because it had been possible, after the rout of the two wings. to bring the bowmen up to a short range, where their shooting was effective. When the longbow came in under Edward I. it proved effective at a much longer range, where the light-armed archers could not be cut up by the sudden rush of a small body of men armed for heavy hand-to-hand fighting. But till that time, late in the twelve-hundreds, the bowmen with short bows could seldom get close enough to prepare an attack.

What men ought to have seen was that a mass of spearmen on foot, well posted, could hold their ground against any cavalry charge as long as they stood fast in their ranks. What men did see, however, at Hastings, was this—that the most splendid infantry had been finally shattered by mail-clad mounted men. Men learnt to believe that no infantry could hold their ground against the shock of an armoured cavalry charge; the foot-men were not trained to face a cavalry charge, and rarely tried to do so unless they were in overwhelming numbers. Therefore for two hundred years, the main strength of an army was supposed to depend—and as a rule did depend in fact—not on its foot soldiers but on its mail-clad mounted men; and when a pitched battle was fought, it was the 'men-at-arms' who won the victory.

CHRONOLOGY

800-1066.

	England.		Scotland, Ireland, and Europe.
	(Kings of England, on their accession, are printed in Capitals.)		(Scottish and Irish events are printed in *Italics*.)
802.	Egbert, king of Wessex.	800-14.	Charlemagne, emperor.
829.	EGBERT, over-king of England.	843.	Partition of Charlemagne's empire. *Kenneth M'Alpine, king of Scots and Picts.*
871.	Danes invade Wessex.		
871-901.	Alfred, king of Wessex.	843-987.	Carlovingian kings of France.
878.	Treaty of Wedmore: half England becomes the Danelagh.		
901-25.	EDWARD the Elder conquers Danelagh.	911.	Rollo the Northman, duke of Normandy.

925-40.	Athelstan.	919-36.	Henry the Fowler, German king.
937.	Battle of Brunanburh.	936-62.	Otto the Great, German king.
979-1013.	Ethelred the Redeless. Renewal of Danish raids.	962-73.	Otto the Great, emperor.
991.	Danegeld levied.	987.	Hugh Capet, king of France. (The dynasty lasted with one interval till 1848.)
1002.	Massacre of St. Brice's day.		
1013.	Sweyn of Denmark, king.		
1014-36.	Knut, king of England and Denmark.	1014.	*Brian Boru (Ireland) defeats the Northmen at Clontarf.*
1036-42.	Harold Harefoot and Harthacnut, kings.	1019.	*Lothian ceded to Malcolm II.*
1042-66.	Edward the Confessor, king.	1039-56.	Henry III., emperor.
		1040-57.	*Macbeth, king of Scotland.*
1066.	Harold Godwinson, king. Battle of Hastings.	1057-93.	*Malcolm III. Canmore, king of Scots.*

THE ENGLISH DOOMS

There was very little law-making among the English. The law meant for the most part the rules of conduct which had been established by custom and enforced by public opinion. But customs varied in different parts of the country, and old heathen customs had to be changed to fit in with Christian ideas. So from time to time a king would not exactly make laws but would publish a code declaring what the laws were which should be enforced throughout his dominions. These codes were called Dooms (or Judgments). Such were the

Dooms of Ethelbert of Kent (about A.D. 600)—the customs of the Kent kingdom in which changes were made, because many of them could not be retained after he and his subjects had turned Christian.

Dooms of Ine of Wessex (about 710)—the customs of Wessex treated in the same sort of way.

Dooms of Alfred (about 890)—a much bigger affair, because his kingdom included half Mercia besides Kent and Sussex, and he had to combine and select from the varying customs so that in important matters the same rules should be observed everywhere.

The **Laws of Edward the Confessor** were not laws made by him, but the somewhat differing Laws of Wessex, Mercia, and the Danelagh, as they were recognised in his day.

CHAPTER III

THE CONQUEST AND THE NORMANS: 1066-1154.

I. Christendom: 1066-1154.

The Papacy and the Empire—Gregory VII.—The First Crusade.

I. Temporal and Spiritual.

From the days of Henry the Fowler and Otto the Great, in the tenth century, when Alfred's son and grandsons were ruling in England, the emperor, who was also German king, was the mightiest prince in Europe, and was counted the 'temporal' head of Western Christendom, though he ruled only within the borders of the empire. The Pope. the bishop of Rome, was counted its 'spiritual' head. That is to say, when you think of the Christian nations of western Europe as a number of states, the emperor was ruler of the greatest of them; but when you think of them as forming one body of Christian people with one religion, forming one Church, the Pope is their head, not the emperor. Emperors and kings enforced their will by force of arms, popes by 'excommunicating' those who disobeyed them. A person who was excommunicated was deprived of all the services which could be given only by the clergy, the 'Sacraments' which all Christians held necessary to salvation. Kings punished people for committing *crimes*, breaking the laws of the realm; the clergy punished them for committing *sins*, breaking the laws of God, whether they broke the laws of the realm or not. And popes were often inclined to say that people who disobeyed them were breaking the laws of God. For all the Western Christians believed then, as Roman Catholics believe now, that the Pope was the successor of St. Peter the chief of the Apostles to whom Christ had given the keys of heaven and the power to bind and to loose. The whole priesthood were the divinely ordained successors of the Apostles to whom was entrusted the revelation of divine truth; they were the mediators upon earth between other men and God, and the Pope was the divinely ordained head of the priesthood over whom were set the bishops, the officers appointed from among them.

No one questioned the authority of the Pope and the Church in all things that concerned faith and morals. But there were popes who claimed a much wider obedience than this. For instance, no Englishman thought it was the Pope's business to settle who was to be king of England; but because Harold had broken his oath, the Pope gave the blessing of the Church to Duke William's army—in other words he declared that the Church was on William's side and it was wicked to fight against him, which was very near saying that the Pope had a right to decide political quarrels. The duke was very well pleased to have the Pope on his side, but if the Pope had been on the other side the duke would have told him to mind his own business, which was not king-making.

The Pope's power.

There had been popes in the past who claimed this sort of authority, and when they were men famed for wisdom and piety their influence had been very great. But when, as sometimes happened, every one knew that the pope was a bad man, little heed was paid to him. Before the days of Otto the Great, there had been a succession of bad popes, which had a bad effect everywhere but especially on the clergy. Then the three Ottos had taken matters into their own hands, and forced men of their own choice upon the 'consistories' which elected the popes, men who were zealous to restore discipline and the high character of the clergy. After this there had been another breakdown; and then again in the middle of the eleventh century, the great Emperor Henry III. had taken matters into his own hands, and secured a succession of good popes.

But the better man a pope was, the more he was inclined to 'magnify his office' and believe it to be his duty to extend the authority of the Church and the influence of religion over 'temporal' rulers, and to claim that when lay princes and the rulers of the Church disagreed, all men whether they were clergy or not owed obedience first to their spiritual head even when it forced them to resist their feudal overlord. And so about this time there began a long contest for supremacy between the ecclesiastical and the lay authorities, the spiritual and the temporal, the emperors and kings on one side, and the popes and bishops on the other; though sometimes there were feudatories who sided with the Pope against the king, and bishops who sided with the king against the Pope.

Rival authorities.

At the end of the twelfth century—which is looking some way ahead—it seemed as if the Papacy and the Church had won the victory; but in the second half of the eleventh century the struggle was only beginning. Was the emperor the head of Christendom with an authority in his own dominions above that of the Pope? Was the Papacy itself subject to the emperor? Or was the Pope the head of Christendom, supreme over emperors and kings and over all their subjects? There had been no doubt about it in the days of such strong emperors as the Ottos and Henry III., who had insisted that when a new Pope was elected he was not to be recognised as Pope till the emperor confirmed his election. But when Henry III. died, his heir Henry IV. was a child; and when the child grew up, the monk Hildebrand, one of the most able and determined of all the champions of the Church, had become Pope Gregory VII. He and the young emperor were each of them determined to assert his own supremacy.

2. Pope, or Emperor?

Now there were at this time among the clergy two parties. One, the Reformers, had a very high ideal both of the authority and of the duties of the clergy; the other wanted much more freedom to do as they pleased than would be permitted by the strict regulation of their lives which the reformers would have enforced. So there were always some of the clergy, especially in Germany, who would side with the emperor against a reforming pope if they could find an excuse for doing so.

Emperors and kings had been in the habit of appointing bishops and archbishops in their own dominions; for the very good reason that bishops had great estates, and their allegiance was as necessary to kings as the allegiance of any other feudatories. But in the eyes of churchmen, no lay ruler could confer the spiritual authority which came through the religious rite of ordination, or could properly choose the persons who ought to have that spiritual authority. This struck Gregory as what is called a test-question; the answer to it would decide in practice whether the authority of the Church or the Crown was the higher; as to which *ought* to be the higher he had no doubt at all. So very soon after he became Pope in 1073 he pronounced that any layman who appointed a bishop was to be excommunicated.

Gregory VII. and Henry IV.

Henry joined battle at once. In defiance of the Pope he appointed an archbishop of Milan, and went on (backed by most German bishops) to order Gregory to resign the Papacy. Gregory retorted by excommunicating Henry and declaring that by the papal authority Henry was deposed and his subjects owed him no allegiance. Henry's feudatories would not fight for one who was under the 'ban of the Church,' and he had to make a most humiliating submission before Gregory would grant him pardon. But presently his party got the upper hand among the German clergy, who did not like a reforming pope, or the rules of election which nearly always gave the Papacy to an Italian unless the emperor could force his own choice on the electors. So Henry in his turn announced that Gregory was deposed, and this time succeeded in driving him into exile from Rome, himself appointing another anti-pope; whose authority, however, was never recognised outside Germany. After Gregory's death the cardinals at Rome elected Urban II., so that there were still a pope and an anti-pope; and still the contest went on between a succession of popes and Henry IV. and his son Henry V., till a sort of agreement, a 'concordat,' was reached at one of the great German towns called Worms, in 1120—some years after the king of England, Henry I., had come to a similar agreement on his own account. Even then the strife did not end, but for the rest of the century it was generally the popes, not the emperors, who gained ground.

3. Palestine.

ONE of the things which most helped the popes was the other great movement which began at the very end of the eleventh century—the Crusades. For a very long time Syria and Palestine had been in possession of the Mohammedans, who were all supposed to be under the rule of the khalifs, the successors of the prophet; though sometimes there were rival khalifs. Generally they had not ill-treated those of their subjects who were Christians. But in the eleventh century, fighting tribes from central Asia, the Turks, who had been converted from paganism to Mohammedanism, had become the real masters of the east though they called themselves the khalif's subjects; and of this there were two consequences. One was that, being great fighters, they were becoming very dangerous to the Greek emperor at Constantinople; and the other, that they were more oppressive to the Christians in Palestine and especially to the pilgrims from Europe who travelled to the Holy Land to pay their devotions at the holy places once trodden by the feet of the Saviour, and especially the Holy Sepulchre where His body had lain.

The Greek emperor Alexius wanted to recover the lands in Asia Minor which the Turks had conquered, but he knew there was very little chance of persuading people from western Europe to help him in extending his dominions or even in driving back the 'Saracens.' But the oppression of Christians in Palestine gave him another chance of rousing the Christian west to attack the infidel Turk. Still his appeals fell on deaf ears until a pilgrim, called Peter the Hermit, returned to Europe with terrible tales of outrage and sacrilege, and Pope Urban II. himself took up the cause.

Urban II.

Urban was moved by a fervent enthusiasm. It was utterly wrong that Christian men should be content to leave those sacred spots in the possession of unbelievers who had no reverence for them. It was utterly intolerable that humble Christians making their pious pilgrimages should be made the defenceless victims of cruelty and outrage. It was the duty of Christendom to lay aside its own quarrels and unite to redeem the Holy Land. And if Urban was enthusiastic, he was also shrewd. Which was the greater, which had the more divine authority, Pope or emperor? If the Church could unite Christendom in a holy war for Christianity against those who set the false prophet above Christ, the question would be answered: the Pope would be the acknowledged head of Christendom.

So Peter the Hermit preached, and Urban gathered great councils first in Italy and then at Clermont in France, at which there were assembled crowds of nobles and knights with their companies of followers, as well as of the clergy from France and Italy and Germany; and at the Council of Clermont, Urban preaching to a great multitude made his appeal to Christian men to have done with selfish strife, to 'take the Cross' and rescue the Holy Land; and the multitude, carried away by his eloquence, raised a great shout, '*Deus vult!* It is the will of God'; and vast numbers pledged themselves to take the Cross and join the Crusade.

The First Crusade.

The story of the First Crusade is too long to tell here. England had little concern with it; kings took no part in it; but many great nobles who were little less than kings—among them William the Conqueror's eldest son Robert—gathered great forces and formed a mighty army with which they marched through Europe to Constantinople, and then through Asia Minor into Syria and so to Palestine, capturing Antioch on the way after a long siege. Then they laid siege to Jerusalem itself, and carried it by storm, slaying the Saracen garrison; and thus the Holy City fell once more into the hands of the Christians in 1099.

Then the Crusaders set up the 'Latin kingdom of Jerusalem,' which stretched from Edessa, north of Antioch, to the south of Palestine. Their leader, Godfrey of Boulogne, was made the first king, and after him his brother Baldwin and his descendants, with dukes and counts ruling over the great provinces, according to the feudal plan. But the first crusade was really only the beginning of a long and ceaseless war between Christians whom the Mohammedans called the Franks and Mohammedans whom Christians called Saracens. It was a war which went on for two hundred years.

At intervals of thirty years or so—sometimes more, sometimes less—a great expedition would go from the west, a big crusade. But fighting was going on all the time, and between the big expeditions there was always a stream of nobles and knights going out to strike hard blows and fight a campaign or two for the Cross against the Crescent, the emblem of Mohammedanism.

II. England as the Conqueror found it.

The Township—The Rural Order—Lords and Tenants—
The English Government—The King's Revenue.

1. The Conquest.

In the history of the British peoples we have now come to the second turning-point. The English conquest made one great change, the Norman conquest made another. Since then, we have been able to prevent any invading armies from even landing on our shores, so that there has been no other change of the same kind as these two. The Norman conquest did not crush out the old English ways as the English conquest had crushed out the old Briton ways in the part of our larger island which became England; but new ways came in which gave the old ways a new form. So, before we go on with the story, we will examine the old ways which were going to be shaped anew.

The English village.

We saw before how the English settled in villages which at first were often but not always made up of groups of kinsmen—Wallings here, Billings there, and so on; and how each family in the group had its share in the piece of land which had been allotted to the village. Each village was what is called 'self-supporting'; that is to say, it raised on its own ground all or nearly all the things necessary to support the life of the villagers—cattle and sheep, pigs and poultry, corn; wood for building, wood and turf for fires, from the 'common' waste land. Coal was not used in those days. Still there were always some things which every village wanted but could not produce for itself, while others could produce more than they wanted for themselves—such as iron, tin, copper, and salt. This made *commerce* necessary; that is to say, trading between villages; each village tried to exchange produce of which it had more than enough for itself for things of which it had not enough, but of which another village had enough and to spare.

How towns arose.

A spot which was conveniently placed—at a cross-road for instance—for people from several villages to meet and exchange their goods, would very soon become a 'trading centre,' near which perhaps two or three villages would plant themselves by degrees; and these villages, uniting together, became little towns; though still, as before, the chief business of all the inhabitants was farming, and the town was a collection of farm-houses and farm-buildings. From the very first, the biggest was London; partly because more cross-roads met there than anywhere else, partly because the mouth of the Thames was such a splendid port for foreign ships to come in to, to exchange their goods for goods from England.

Two other things we can think of which made villages grow up into towns. Wherever there was a monastery or a shrine dedicated to some saint—especially if the dead saint was supposed to work miracles—people came on pilgrimage, to offer prayers and gifts, so that there were many passers-by; which meant customers to whom things might be sold. And after Alfred's time, wherever there was a fort (called a *burh*) people felt safer if they lived near it. So a 'burh' very soon became a town, and shrines and monasteries were surrounded by towns.

2. Village craftsmen.

AT first there was very little 'division of labour.' There were not a number of trades, each man working at his own; every household did its share of work on the land, its own carpentering and building, its own spinning and weaving, and so on. There was one particular trade, though, which was held in honour—that of the smith who forged weapons; for that needed much skill and practice, and the smith became a person of some importance. And then people found by experience that there were all sorts of things which this man or that man could do much better than his neighbours—tiling and thatching, working leather, and so on; and so more and more one man came to be the smith or the tiler, the wheelwright or the carpenter, for his village or for a group of villages, doing that kind of work for his neighbours and being paid by them for it, in goods.

For a long time it was always goods that were exchanged—meal for wool, pigs for fowls; a man gave for what he wanted something of which he had more than he wanted. There was very little money, for

Barter.

there was not much silver to be had, and hardly any gold. But as silver became more plentiful, it began to be used as a 'medium of exchange'—something coming in between things that were to be exchanged, which was used also as a *measure of value*. If you wanted to exchange sheep for cattle, you might not find any one who wanted to exchange his cattle for your sheep. But if he would give you silver for your sheep, you were sure of finding some one who would take your silver for his cattle, because he knew that some one else would take that silver in exchange for something that *he* wanted. Still, right down to the Norman conquest, most of the exchange was 'barter'—exchange of goods for goods, not for silver. And when silver was used, you gave not so many coins (of which there were few) but so many ounces or pounds weight of silver. In the same way, nearly all payments were made *in kind*, that is, in goods; if a tenant had to pay his lord something besides services on the land or in fighting, it was not money he paid, but so much coin, or so many lambs or calves or fowls.

3. Lord and man.

We heard nothing about 'lords' and 'tenants' before in England, for we only spoke of the 'feudal system' on the Continent. Something of the same sort, however, was growing up among the English during these centuries. We do not know for certain how it started; but even before Alfred's time there was a 'lord' in most villages, one man who generally had a big share of the village land, and from whom some or all of the other villagers held their land on condition of rendering some sort of service; not, in England, military service so far as we know, but 'agricultural service,' work on his land—one day a week, or two, or three, according to the size of the tenant's holding. Some people think this began in villages where Britons had been allowed to remain, not as freemen like the Saxon conquerors, but in their service. Probably it often happened that one man got in debt to another, could not pay, and so gave up his land to the other, and then got it back—or some of it—on condition of service. Or again a man who had little or no land of his own might bind himself to serve another who had some to spare on which he could be planted. And finally a small man could take service under a big man in order to enjoy his protection.

At any rate, before the Norman conquest there was in most villages a lord with land of his own, from whom most of the villagers held their land on condition of service or payment or both on one side, and of protection on the other. Still many of these men were really perfectly free; their service was given in return not for the land but for protection, and they could put an end to the bargain and, if they chose, make a fresh bargain with some one else; so that sometimes a man in one village was in the service of the lord in another village altogether. Service did not by itself make a man unfree: he generally remained a *ceorl*, without losing his rights in the town, hundred, and shire *moots*. The lord's own piece of land which was called his demesne, and the land 'held from him' by tenants, formed his estate, called in later times his manor, so that generally but not always each village was a 'manor.' And one man was often lord of many manors.

Freemen.

The tenants did not give military service. If there was fighting to be done in the European kingdoms, armies were raised by the lords calling upon their vassals to join their banners; but in England they were raised by the shire-levies, the fyrd—the freemen had to join the standard not of a lord but of the ealdorman of the shire. For the last fifty years the king's officers called earls had taken the place of ealdormen of the shires; but they were not lords in the sense that the holders of land in their earldoms were their vassals. Yet it is likely enough that if there had been no Norman conquest, the earls would have become the overlords of their earldoms like the dukes and counts in France. That, however, had not come about when the conquest took place.

Now let us look at the *Government* of the country. 'Government' is not an easy thing to understand; but if to start with we can get a fairly clear idea of what government means, we shall find it much easier, as we go on, to see the meaning of the 'Constitutional Struggles' of which our history is full—for a 'constitutional struggle' means simply a contest between two or more parties about the way in which government is to be carried on.

4. Government.

The first business of any government is to keep order and make people obey the law. The second business is to make sure that the law is just and wise; and the third is to declare what it is that the law ordains in every case where it is said to have been broken, or its meaning is doubtful. The first business is called Administration or the 'Executive function.' The second, making new laws or changing old ones, is Legislation, the 'Legislative function.' Judges and law-courts have to do with the third, Justice, the 'Judicial function.' Everywhere there must be some person or group of persons whom every one recognises as having authority to carry out these duties.

The rulers.

At first 'the law' meant simply the customs of the land or tribe, which forbade its members to do certain things, and required them to do certain other things. The chiefs were the people who had authority to maintain order and declare the law; customs could only be changed and new customs ordained by consent of the tribe; the Government hardly ever had any legislating, *law-making*, to do. When our English ancestors were coming out of the tribal stage into the kingdom stage, the separate groups or communities—townships, hundreds, and so on—were still doing most of the governing and judging for themselves, in the town-moot, the hundred-moot, or the shire-moot. But at the top, at the head of the whole, were the king and his council, the witan, who had to see that all the sections, towns, hundreds, and shires, were doing their work properly, working together, and keeping the same laws; and the king had his own officers, the ealdormen and shire-reeves who had authority to act in his name in the shires. The ealdorman called up and commanded the fyrd; the reeve presided at the shire-moot, managed its meetings, and was its chief officer.

Law-making.

But also, when tribes combined to form a kingdom, legislation began to be needed. The first law-making was really in one way more like the work of *judging*. Some one had to settle which of the differing customs of the various groups were to be set up as those which all the groups must follow. Clearly this was the business of the king and his witan. This became all the more necessary when first Kent and then other kingdoms became Christian, since many customs of the pagan English were such as Christians could not follow, and Christianity enjoined customs which pagans had never practised. So we may call Ethelbert of Kent the first law-maker; for he and his witan first made up and wrote down a code of laws which were to be carried out by all the authorities: some selected from the established customs and others which the churchmen said all Christians must follow. Thus the first legislation was partly the 'codification of customs,' the writing down of the customs which were to be observed by every one, and partly the enacting of new customs required by the conversion of the English to Christianity. A hundred years later, Ine of Wessex did the same thing for his kingdom, and later on Alfred for his; and after that nearly all the kings of the House of Cerdic had to make fresh codes because of some changes which were found necessary; the last of the Saxon kings' codes, or 'dooms' as they were called, being that of Edward the Confessor. All this was now the 'written law,' but it did not interfere with other unwritten customs, 'customary laws,' unless they could not be kept without breaking the written law. All this law-making was always done by the king with the advice of his 'wise men,' the witan. No king would have ventured to order a change in the customs without first securing the approval of the most influential men in the country, the 'magnates,' who were able to attend the witan and give their opinion.

5. Revenue.

Now the business of government costs a great deal. Preserving law and order means calling up forces to meet attacks from outside, police forces in every district, maintenance of roads, and many other expenses. Nowadays, the Government requires a huge revenue which it gets by taxes. How did the English manage? The revenue required in those days was not a huge one; freemen, landholders, instead of paying taxes had to give their time and services when needed. The freemen in each district were themselves its police, unpaid. They had to keep the roads and bridges in repair. They had to attend the fyrd in sufficient numbers when the levies were called up. And when more was needed, the king had to find the revenue from his own estates, being himself the lord of many villages. There was no taxing before the time of Ethelred the Redeless. Taxing began with what was called the *Danegeld*, Dane money; which was collected with the idea of spending it on keeping up forces ready to fight the Danes, but was actually spent instead on paying ransom to the Danes when they came ravaging. Ethelred's witan agreed that every landholder must pay so much Danegeld according to the supposed value of his land. Once it had been started, the tax went on being levied from time to time when the witan saw need for a heavy expenditure. The Danegeld was a land-tax; but it kept its name long after it had ceased to have anything to do with the Danes; and it was the only tax levied till more than a hundred years after the Norman conquest.

Royal estates.

A great number of estates went with the crown and belonged to the king. Alfred's father Ethelwulf, being a pious man, is said to have bestowed one-tenth of his own estates on the Church—that is, either on monasteries or on the bishops in whose sees they lay, that the wealth coming from them might be spent in the service of God and to His glory; and other kings made grants of some of their estates to particular persons, by way of reward or payment for services which had been rendered or were expected to be rendered. Then the new lord became entitled to exactly the same services from the tenants to which the king had been entitled before. But the more land the king gave away, the less chance he had of 'living of his own' as the phrase went—that is, of paying the expenses of government out of his own revenue. Still, as we have seen, it was not till Ethelred's time that he had to raise extra revenue by taxation, improved by the advice and consent of the witan.

III. William the Conqueror: 1066-1087.

The Conquest of the South—The Conquest of the North—
The Rule of the Conqueror.

1. Resistance to William.

In December 1066 William the Norman was crowned king of England by election of the witan, as Knut the Dane had been elected fifty years before. Both might have claimed the throne simply by right of conquest. Neither of them chose to do so. The witan elected them because really it had no choice, not because it wished to have them; but their election made them the lawful kings—no one imagined that a prince of the House of Wessex had a right to reign in their place, though an Atheling would always have a strong claim to the succession at the next election. The Atheling had been set aside in favour of Harold. But that did not make the people ready to submit to the new king unless he would rule them in accordance with their own customs like the Wessex kings. Harold had been the free choice of the witan; William had been elected under compulsion, and that was a fair reason for saying that the election was not binding.

So six years passed after the victory of Hastings before the English ceased to struggle against the Norman rule. For though William proclaimed his intention of ruling according to the English law, he had his own idea of what English law meant, which was not at all the same thing as the English idea. For he mixed into it Norman notions. We saw that one part of the business of government is to explain or interpret the law, to declare what it means; and William's government showed that in his eyes it meant things which it did not mean and never had meant in the eyes of the English. Moreover, the main business of government is to enforce the law, and when William enforced the law as he explained it, the English tried to resist.

William began by declaring that the resistance of Harold and his followers had been rebellion, and therefore all their estates were forfeited. Harold's army at Hastings—the men who had actually fought against William—had been drawn from Wessex and East Anglia, and their forfeited estates were distributed among William's Norman followers. Edwin and Morcar and Waltheof, the Mercians and Northumbrians, had not fought at Hastings; they were admitted as loyal subjects—though William did not trust them—and their estates were not generally forfeited. William felt safe in going back to Normandy to put things there in order, leaving his half-brother Odo, bishop of Bayeux, and William FitzOsbern in charge of the kingdom.

Norman lords.

The new lords took possession of their estates and domineered over their tenants and over the few English to whom small estates had been left, without regard to the law. The result was that wherever the Normans were not present in strong force, as in the west country (Devon and Cornwall) and on the Welsh border or 'Marches' there were risings while William was away in 1067. He came back at the end of the year, at once forced the west to submit, and on the ground of rebellion forfeited nearly all the remaining estates in the south which had been left in English hands, and gave them to Normans.

2. Conquest of the North.

But this set the north in a flame; there were risings, to proclaim Edgar Atheling king. The risings collapsed when William and his troops appeared (1068). Edgar fled to King Malcolm in Scotland, who soon afterwards married his sister Margaret. Edwin and Morcar who had joined the rising were pardoned—but a number of estates were forfeited in Mercia and Northumbria and given to Normans, some of whom were named earls. Still, no sooner was William's back turned than the flames again broke out in the north (1069).

Again William promptly scattered the insurgents. But now it appeared to Sweyn of Denmark that there might be an opening for him in the Danelagh. Most of the Danelagh was ready to fight for any one, whether Atheling or Dane, against the Normans. A great Danish fleet sailed into the Humber. All Northumbria rose—not quite sure whether it meant to make Sweyn or Edgar king. The castles which William had raised at York were captured and their garrisons wiped out. And at the same time fresh insurrections broke out in the west and on the Welsh Marches.

The wrath of the Conqueror was kindled. Hitherto he had not smitten the rebels with a heavy hand; he had punished them by forfeiture and planted Norman garrisons after giving repeated proofs that no rebel forces would stand a chance against his leadership; he had pardoned their leaders; he considered, with some justice, that he had been extremely lenient. The time for leniency was past.

The Danes.

The king marched north. The invading Danes who had been fighting beside the Anglo-Danes of the Danelagh retreated to Holdernesse where William could not attack them without ships. There he left them and turned upon Yorkshire with fire and sword. He made a desert of half the shire; so terribly did he ravage it that twenty years afterwards only sixteen hamlets were to be found in a district where before his visitation there were sixty-two townships.

Then in a bitter winter campaign he fell upon the rebels of north-west Mercia, dealing with them almost as ruthlessly as he had dealt with Yorkshire. While he was busy in the west the Danes came out of Holdernesse into the fen-country of Lincolnshire, but they had given up the idea of fighting William. All they wanted now was booty; and when they had sacked Peterborough and its abbey—so wealthy that it was called the Golden Borough—they took to their ships and sailed away (1070).

The Danes were done with. The Atheling was back in Scotland, where shrewd Malcolm had no intention of bringing down on his own head the wrath of the grim Norman, to whom he had already made some vague sort of submission. The whole of the north and half Mercia were thoroughly terrorised. Every insurrectionary movement had died out of itself if it had not been crushed out.

Hereward the Wake.

Except in one place. In the fens about Ely, Hereward the Wake, the last champion of English freedom, set up the 'Camp of Refuge' and gathered about him a stubborn band resolved to wage to the last a fierce war upon the conquerors, as in later days Wallace and Bruce battled for the independence of Scotland. From their fastness in those vast marshes, by paths which no stranger could follow, their companies sallied forth, swooping upon the Normans out of the darkness and vanishing into it again. There was little enough to be gained except vengeance, no sort of hope that Hereward could rally an army which could face a Norman host in the field, much less match itself against the greatest of living captains. But Hereward and his following made themselves such a terror to the Normans for many miles round that William himself had to take in hand their suppression; which he only effected at immense cost of life to his troops, and probably through some treachery among the refugees. Even then it is said that Hereward with some of his following escaped to the greenwood, the wide forests which outlaws made their home and where Robin Hood in after years won fame. Nevertheless it seems that at last Hereward saw that the game was hopelessly lost, came in to the king's Peace, and held estates at the king's hand. The destruction of the Camp of Refuge in 1071 marks the end of English rebellion against the Norman king. After that, rebels were always Norman barons against whom the English were glad to fight on the king's side, since it was the barons whose tyranny they felt.

3. Malcolm Canmore.

Next year, to make matters doubly secure, William marched to Scotland. Malcolm renewed his submission, and was duly rewarded for his prudence by a grant of lands in England. He did homage to William, swearing allegiance as his vassal—only on account of the English lands, as Scots have always claimed, though the lawyers in England said he did homage for the Scottish crown. Certainly he meant no more than his ancestors meant when they owned Edward the Elder or Edgar for 'father and lord.' William, however, did not want Scotland on his hands, and was satisfied with the homage he received. Also he received the Scots king's brother-in-law into favour again, sure that the Atheling was quite harmless—which proved to be the case. With all his ruthlessness, the grim Norman had a curious kindliness for some of these young Englishmen, and repeatedly pardoned not only Edgar Atheling but also Edwin and Morcar and Waltheof.

In fact there was only one more revolt in the remaining fifteen years of William's life. While he was in Normandy in 1075, the Norman earls of Hereford and Norfolk rose on account of what they considered grievances—William would not allow a marriage between the families which he thought might make them inconveniently powerful. They tried to draw Waltheof into their conspiracy, but he refused to turn traitor. When they rose, Archbishop Lanfranc, who had been left in charge, raised the shire-levies in the king's name to fight against the rebels, and the revolt was suppressed. Unhappily it was wrongly believed that Waltheof shared the guilt of the earls and he was put to death—the last survivor of the old English nobles except the Atheling who had no children.

It was nine years since Hastings, and the crushing of the revolt had not even required the presence of William himself. Normandy in fact gave him a good deal more trouble than England, because these turbulent barons could more easily combine against their duke; for three reasons. In England every Norman had enough to do in keeping down the English who, if he tried to fight the king, would fight on the king's side; in Normandy all the fighting-men who were his vassals would follow his banner against the duke or any one else. Secondly, the chances were that any of the duke's vassals who fought against him would get secret encouragement if not open help from the duke's own suzerain King Philip of France, who liked to see his uncomfortably powerful feudatories embarrassed by revolts. Thirdly, they could combine to make a figurehead of the duke's eldest son Robert, who was always at odds with his father. He was a useful figurehead, because there was always some sort of excuse for backing the future duke and also because when he should become duke they were sure of an easy time. For though Robert could unhorse any knight in Europe including his father, he was both easy-going and dull-witted, and they could do what they liked with him, whereas the man who crossed William's will was sure to find trouble. Finally, though William despised Robert and invariably defeated him, he also invariably forgave him.

Normandy.

Consequently a great deal of the king's time was spent in his duchy, while his trusted friend and confidant, Archbishop Lanfranc, looked after affairs in his kingdom, keeping keen watch on the barons, organising the government, reforming the clergy and especially the monasteries, measuring the 'financial resources' of the country (the wealth the king could extract from it), enforcing the law as he and his trained Norman lawyers chose to interpret it, but always in accordance with the king's will.

Lanfranc.

IV. The Norman Revolution: 1066-1087.

The New Feudalism—Barons and Mesne Tenants—Norman Lords—Forest Laws and Domesday Book.

WHEN William the Conqueror became lawful king of England by election of the witan, he announced his intention of maintaining the laws. Still, the rebellions and the bitter hostility between the English people and their new lords gave him an excuse for making some quite new laws; and the Norman lawyers interpreted

1. The new feudalism.

the old laws in a fashion which gave some of them quite a new meaning and really turned them into new laws.

All over France and Germany, all land was held by feudal tenure, on condition of either military or agricultural service to an overlord. According to the feudal law, the king was the actual owner of every inch of land in the country; all of it was held from him, either directly by his 'immediate' vassals—that is, with no one between him and the holder—or indirectly by the vassals who held it directly from his vassals or their vassals; if the conditions upon which it was supposed to have been granted were broken, he could take possession again and the holder forfeited his rights.

The baronage.

The Conqueror's lawyers took for granted that this was the law among all civilised peoples, and therefore in England. So William declared that all Harold's supporters had been rebels, and that their lands were forfeited to the king, who took possession again—besides of course taking for himself the royal estates which went with the crown. Then he granted to his Norman followers the forfeited estates of every one who had actually fought against him. But he argued that all Wessex and East Anglia had been on the rebel side, so that all the estates there had been lawfully forfeited; still he would be gracious, and would restore the estates of most of them who had not actually been in arms. But whether he granted them to new Norman lords or old Saxon lords, it was always on the same condition of paying homage and rendering military service according to feudal custom. Then whenever there was a rebellion anywhere, he repeated the process; so that by 1072 every one who held land, except as tenant under some lord of the manor, had done homage to him and held that land on condition of military service under feudal law, whether he was a Norman or a Saxon.

This is what is meant when it is said that the Normans introduced the feudal system. A good deal of what is known as feudalism had already begun growing under the Wessex kings and under Knut: but it was the Normans who first in England acted upon the doctrine of lawyers trained under the feudalism of the Continent that all land was held either immediately or indirectly from the king, who was the real owner, and that it was held on condition of military service. It followed as a matter of course that all overlords claimed from their vassals or tenants not only actual military service but the other services customary in Europe called feudal aids.

All the estates, then, had been granted by the king either to old Saxon or new Norman lords. But a lord could grant part of his estate to some one else, to be held from him as overlord, and a man could still of his own free will 'commend himself' to a more powerful lord, do homage to him and become his 'man,' his vassal, giving him his land and then receiving it back to be held from him as overlord; a practice which had begun long before. So all over the country there were numbers of what were called mesne tenants, holding their land directly not from the king but from a vassal. But besides the great feudatories who held broad lands and many manors from the king directly, there were also great numbers of small men, holding only a manor or two, who had no overlord between them and the king; and all of these were called tenants-in-chief or barons—that is, the king's 'men.' It was not till some centuries later that the name of baron was limited to the powerful nobles, though when the word is used it is generally the big barons who are meant.

2. Barons and Mesne tenants.

Even after all the rebellions, a fair number of these lesser barons were still not Normans or Frenchmen, but Englishmen; but none were lords of many manors, while there were Normans in plenty who held dozens or scores and some few who even held hundreds. Only Normans—or churchmen, bishops or monasteries—had very large estates; and all the people of importance, the 'magnates,' were Normans, except here and there a bishop or an abbot.

In one way, however, William had an enormous advantage over kings anywhere else. If any one had very big estates granted to him, they were split up, lying in different parts of the country, where the forfeitures had taken place at different times; so that he had no chance of calling all his vassals together in one army which could threaten the king—as the Dukes of Normandy or Aquitaine and the Counts of Toulouse or Flanders could do in France. Estates in East Anglia might add to the wealth of an earl of Hereford but would not help him to rebel. In France, a great feudatory could often defy his suzerain, but in England a number of them had to unite in order to stand a chance against the king.

Weakness of the feudatories.

And another advantage he secured was that he required all mesne[1] tenants as well as tenants-in-chief to swear allegiance to himself as well as to their immediate overlord, claiming that their allegiance to him counted above their allegiance to his vassal. It would be no excuse for a mesne tenant to say that he was bound to fight for his lord even against the king; his allegiance bound him to fight for the king against his lord.

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[1] See page 101.

Thus if this Norman feudalism was very different from the feudalism which was beginning to grow up before the conquest in England, it was also very different from that which had grown up on the Continent; for the king of France had a dozen vassals each of whom was very nearly as strong as his suzerain; whereas the king of England was from the outset stronger than any three or four of his feudatories put together.

3. Castles.

Then William had another rule which had nothing to do with the laws of England. As the Romans of old had planted their entrenched camps with big garrisons at 'strategic points' from which they could strike at any risings of British tribes, so he planted new castles of stone such as had never before been known in England at strategic points, garrisoned them with troops in his own service under his own officers, but suffered no one else to build a castle without his leave. The castles were so strong that they could hardly be captured except by starving out the garrisons—though it was done sometimes. Where there was a castle it was dangerous for any one, Norman or English, to attempt revolt. And finally: if the English tried it the Normans would fall on them, and if Normans tried it the English would fight for the king.

The Great Council.

Then there was another change. The Saxon kings had governed with the counsel and consent of the Witan which was ordinarily a Council of Magnates. But there were no written laws settling who was to attend the Witan, or what the king could do without its approval. The real meaning of the practice was that the king could not risk doing what the magnates in general disapproved. So it was also with the Norman king; but the magnates who formed his Witan, his Great Council, were not Englishmen but Normans; and their views were Norman views, and they cared much less about English wishes than the Conqueror did himself. The laws which they did not want to see changed were not the old English laws but the feudal customs; the only changes they wanted were those which would increase their own power.

Lords' jurisdiction.

And this change, which made Normans lords where Englishmen had been lords before, brought about other changes. Questions had been tried and crimes had been punished generally by the moot of the township or the shire, which in practice had probably come to mean that the lord in one and the sheriff in the other had acted as the judge. Now the lords and the sheriffs were nearly all Normans, and they took it for granted that they had a right to be the judges, and the right to enforce what they called the law; so that if they chose—as they very often did—to play the tyrant, there was not much chance of any one preventing them. Moreover, those who had no wish to be tyrants but meant to be just still supposed, as was natural, that they had the same rights over the peasantry, the tillers of the soil, in their English manors, as they had in their estates in Normandy or Brittany or Flanders; and they enforced those rights without any idea that what they were doing was not perfectly lawful.

Villeinage.

To the free peasants of course this all seemed to be sheer tyranny and injustice; they resented and tried to resist it; the lords thought they were merely turbulent and disobedient, and became the more harsh in punishing them and enforcing their own rights; and the result was that under the Normans more than half of those who had been freemen became 'villeins' or serfs, compelled to pay a much stricter service to their lords than in Saxon times. What marks off the freeman from the serf is that the latter is bound to the soil—in the lawyers' Latin phrase, *ascriptus glebae*; he cannot leave the estate on which he was born to take service with some one else or follow some other employment without his lord's leave; he belongs to his lord—though his lord cannot sell him as he can sell his horses and cattle, so that he is not actually a slave. The name villein at first meant merely a dweller in a *vill*—a village or township; but so many of them became serfs that it came to be used only for serfs; while the name yeoman or freeholder is used for the free peasantry who were not serfs bound to the soil though they might hold their plots of land from the lord on condition of service to him. It was under the Normans that villeinage grew up, though both slavery and serfdom existed before the conquest.

Thus the old laws were there. The magnates gathered in the witan, now called *Magnum Concilium*, the Great Council; on special occasions other people besides magnates were summoned to it or allowed to attend it, probably only tenants-in-chief, when it was sometimes called *Commune Concilium*, the Common (or General) Council. But the people who came to both were nearly all Normans. The shire-moot and the township-moot were there, attended by the freemen as of old; but the freemen became fewer and fewer, the shire-reeve or sheriff who presided over one and the lord who presided over the other were Normans and kept most of the authority in their own hands. And the fyrd, the shire-levy, was there, summoned and commanded by the sheriff who held office at the king's pleasure, so that the fyrd was always at the service of the king.

The Church.

No less important was the Normanising of the Church. Whenever there was a chance foreign priests were put into bishoprics and abbacies, and they ruled the secular clergy and the monks according to the strict views held by the Norman clergy. Early in his reign William made Lanfranc Archbishop of Canterbury. Lanfranc was a statesman as well as a zealous churchman. Like Gregory he meant the Church to have supreme influence everywhere; he meant to raise the character of the clergy, to make them respected as the ordained ministers of the King of kings, a class apart from the world, bound to resist its temptations only less strenuously than those of the Flesh and the Devil, choosing to live as a duty under rules too hard to be imposed as a duty upon ordinary men. But he meant himself to rule the Church in England, to do it in concert with the king, not as having an authority in rivalry with the king's; and therefore he was at one with William in declining to set the Pope's authority above the king's.

So from William he got what he wanted—a free hand for himself with the churchmen. They were not to be subject to laymen. If they did wrong, the Church would punish them through her own officers, bishops and abbots, and her own ecclesiastical or Church courts, and with spiritual penalties which they would fear more than those of the king's law-courts. The Church was to have her own laws for churchmen, so long as they did not run counter to the laws of the realm. But the rule was to be that of the Church in England, not that of the Pope, of Lanfranc not of Gregory or Urban; and Lanfranc knew better than to attempt overriding the king. The two worked in perfect harmony, and the Pope could not afford to quarrel with the pair of them—nor indeed did he wish to do so as long as the harmony continued. Which it did till the Conqueror's death.

4. Forest Laws.

One set of laws William made which were wholly new—the Forest Laws. Like every man of his House, he loved the chase of deer and boar, and 'loved the tall deer as he had been their father.' Therefore he set apart great tracts of land for royal deer-forests, where none might hunt but in his company or by his leave; and if any other slew his deer, his eyes were put out. And because hitherto the forest hunting had been free to all, the folk still considered that they had a right to slay the deer if they dared to risk being taken and blinded, counting that they did no wrong in breaking a law that had no sanction from old custom and was in itself unjust and cruel.

Domesday Book.

William, as the Peterborough chronicler says, was greedy; he wanted to get everything that he could for himself from the country; but he was wise enough to know, what greedy tyrants are apt to forget, that to get the most possible out of a country you must first find out just how much you can take without ruining it. For if it is ruined, it will cease to produce anything which can be taken. And so in order to find out, he sent commissioners all over the country who took an exact record of what was being produced on every estate, the size of each, what proportion or share of the things produced could safely be taken from each by taxation, the Danegeld, and who were the persons who should be made to pay. When this was done, he would know exactly how much he could get when he chose to demand it. And this record which was made was kept, and exists to this day. It was known as the Domesday Book; and it is from the examination of this record that we have been able to find out most of what we know about the condition of the English people in the days of William the Conqueror.

V. The Conqueror's Successors: 1087-1154.

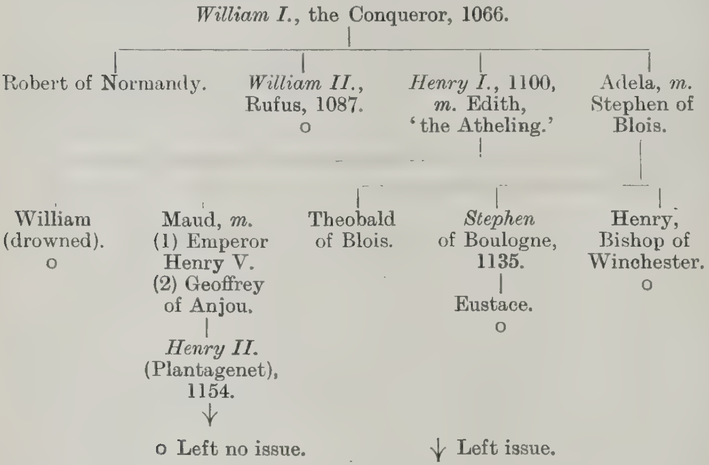
The End of William I.—William Rufus—Henry I. and Anselm—
The Lion of Justice—Stephen.

1. William I.

William died in Normandy in 1087 when he was nearly or quite sixty, at Mantes, while he was engaged in crushing a troublesome vassal. His horse stumbled on burning cinders, and he was thrown violently against the high pommel of his saddle; which injured him so seriously that he died. And this is the character of him that was written by an English monk of Peterborough:

'He was a very wise man and very mighty, and of a great majesty. Mild he was to the good men who loved God, and beyond measure hard to them that gainsaid his will, very stark and cruel, so that none durst do aught against his will. He had earls in his bonds who acted against his will, bishops he cast from their bishoprics and abbots from their abbacies, and thegns into prison. Not to be forgotten is the good peace that he made in this land, so that a man having confidence might go through his realm with his bosom full of gold, unhurt; neither durst any man slay another, whatsoever ill that other might have wrought him. In his time men had great hardships and very many injuries; castles he caused to be made, and poor men to be greatly oppressed. Many marks of gold and of silver hundred of pounds, as of right and with great unright, he took from his people for little need. He had fallen into covetousness, and altogether loved greediness. He planted a great preserve of deer, and made laws withal that whosoever should slay hart or hind should be made blind; the harts and the boars also he forbade to be killed; he so loved the tall deer as he had been their father. . . . May the Almighty God show mercy to his soul and grant him forgiveness of his sins.'

THE NORMAN LINE
AND THE PLANTAGENET SUCCESSION


William I., the Conqueror, 1066.
Robert of Normandy.
William II., Rufus, 1087. o
Henry I., 1100, *m.* Edith, 'the Atheling.'
Adela, *m.* Stephen of Blois.
William (drowned). o
Maud, *m.* (1) Emperor Henry V. (2) Geoffrey of Anjou.
Henry II. (Plantagenet), 1154. ↓
Theobald of Blois.
Stephen of Boulogne, 1135.
Eustace. o
Henry, Bishop of Winchester. o
o Left no issue.
↓ Left issue.

The Conqueror had decided that his eldest son Robert should inherit the dukedom of Normandy, and his second son William, called Rufus, the Red, should have the kingdom of England. To his third son Henry he left only a small estate, knowing that he was very well able to take care of himself. His daughter Adela was married to a powerful French noble, the Count of Blois. For the time Normandy was separated from England; though most of the Normans who held fiefs in England as King William's vassals also held fiefs in Normandy as Duke Robert's vassals; so that if the brothers should quarrel, they owed equal allegiance to both, and as far as loyalty went had just as much reason to fight for one as for the other.

2. William II. succeeds.

The Normans preferred the easy-going Robert as overlord to the fierce Red King, who was as dangerous to cross as his father had been. But Rufus was first in the field, claimed the English succession in Robert's absence, and was crowned by Lanfranc. In six months, most of the big barons were up in arms for Duke Robert—including the dead king's half-brothers, Odo who was earl of Kent as well as bishop of Bayeux, and Robert earl of Cornwall. The barons did not want William but the English did not want the barons. Lanfranc and the clergy were on the king's side. The fyrd answered his call; the rebellion was crushed in the most dangerous quarter, Kent. With the south-east secured, William could strike where he chose; he understood the business of fighting almost as well as his father. The rebels generally preferred making submission on promise of pardon to being crushed mercilessly, piecemeal. Only once again was there a revolt against Rufus, in the north; and that was crushed with the same swiftness and energy. The fear of him kept men still.

The Red King.

Not the love of him, nor such reluctant admiration as the Conqueror had wrung from his enemies, but sheer terror. If the Normans were wolves to the English, to the wolves William was a tiger. He spared no one and nothing that stood between him and his will. He cared nothing for any laws, human or divine; he broke them all if it suited him; so did his chosen comrades in arms. But others broke the law at their peril, because by doing so they gave him an excuse for falling upon them and depriving them of their property if not of their lives. When he and his boon companions moved about the country, men fled before them, not daring to stay and defend themselves. In a dozen years his rule had become intolerable. And so on a day he rode a-hunting with his train in the New Forest. In the heat of the chace he fell, pierced to the heart by an arrow discharged by one of the huntsmen. The company left him dead on the ground, and sped with the news to his brother Henry; who rode straight for Winchester to secure the royal treasure which lay there, and forthwith claimed for himself the dead king's crown.

William would have liked to get possession of Normandy; but the Normans in the duchy preferred their tractable duke; and the Normans in England, with estates in both countries, preferred two suzerains to one if the one was to be Red William. The king found an excuse for making war on the duke, but found also that to get the duchy by conquest would be too risky an enterprise. There was no fyrd to call out on his side in Normandy. Yet near the end of his reign he got the duchy into his hands. Robert was moved to take part in the crusade, for which he needed money; William lent him the money in exchange for the charge of the duchy during Robert's absence; and Robert had not returned from Palestine when William was killed. If he had come back sooner, he would have found it hard enough to get back his duchy: as it was, he missed his chance of getting the crown of England, which Henry seized without waiting for him.

William II.'s tyranny.

William's reign showed the irresistible power of a perfectly unscrupulous tyrant who feared nothing, was the most skilful soldier of his time, and never met his match in single combat. The Conqueror had scruples; he preferred justice to injustice, especially in other people; he was greedy and grasping, but he could be generous; he respected the law though he distorted it; he kept at least the letter of his promises. Rufus hardly pretended to respect the law, and paid no regard to his promises. Lanfranc restrained him in some degree at first, but died before he had been king two years. Ranulf Flambard, whom William then took for his minister, sought only to enrich the king and himself, using the law only as a means to extortion. Whenever an abbacy or a bishopric became vacant, the king had charge of its revenues till a new abbot or bishop was appointed; William kept them vacant for years and seized the revenues for himself. When a vassal died leaving an heir who was under age, the heir was the king's ward, and the king took the ward's revenues for himself. A vassal could not marry his daughter without the suzerain's leave; he exacted heavy fines as the price of his consent. He doubled the Danegeld which his father had turned into a standing tax. When he had a campaign on hand in Wales or Normandy he demanded money from the churchmen; they had to pay, lest he should take it by sacrilegious robbery of the churches themselves.

Archbishop Anselm.

Once he was frightened. He had kept the archbishopric of Canterbury vacant for four years after Lanfranc's death; then he fell sick; the fear of hell-fire came upon him and he tried to square some of his awful account with Heaven by making the saintly Anselm of Bec archbishop. Then he got well, forgot his fear of hell-fire, but found in the archbishop the first man who faced him fearing God more than the king. In all things lawful Anselm would obey, but in nothing that he held to be unlawful. Rufus tried in vain to frighten him, and could not strike at him, because he saw that for once Norman barons and English freemen would stand together in the archbishop's defence. But though Anselm was safe, he could not protect others, and being so powerless he saw no use in staying in the country. He quitted it, and William went on as he had done before, till the arrow in the New Forest ended his life.

3. Henry I., Beauclerc.

HENRY, the youngest of the Conqueror's three sons, and the most able, claimed the crown at Winchester, while William's dead body was lying untended where it fell. Robert, the eldest, was still in Italy on his way home from the Holy Land. In his absence, his supporters in England could not make head against the younger brother whose rights were acknowledged by the magnates gathered at Winchester, acting as witan.

Henry alone of the three could claim to be an Atheling, born in England the son of the king of England. The others had been born abroad, sons of the duke of Normandy; this perhaps was the main ground on which his 'election' was justified, but there was no law of 'primogeniture,' no fixed rule, that is, that the elder brother and his children or son must succeed before the younger. But the election was popular. If the most powerful barons would have preferred Robert simply because they knew he would be unable to control them, the weaker preferred a king who could keep their stronger neighbours in order.

Law was to reign once more. Henry issued a Charter proclaiming that he would rule by the 'good laws of Edward the Confessor' like his father, not like the brother who had made havoc of the laws and robbed the barons as recklessly as he had robbed the English. But Henry wanted the goodwill of the English too, and won it by taking to wife Edith or Matilda, daughter of Margaret the sister of Edgar Atheling and grandchild of Edmund Ironside. Also he confirmed good impressions by inviting Anselm to return to Canterbury, and by throwing Ranulf Flambard into prison; from which however he escaped, to make trouble by stirring up Robert of Normandy, now back from the Crusade, to claim the crown of England.

Henry and Robert.

Robert invaded England next year (1101). Henry bought him off (treaty of Alton), and set about bringing the big barons under control, chiefly by fining them heavily for breaches of the law. He was strengthened, they were weakened; when some of them tried to raise a revolt before it should be too late, he crushed them, seized their estates, and sent them out of the country. In Normandy they plotted against him. Robert could not or would not control them. When Henry took the matter into his own hands, Robert fought against him, and was soundly beaten and taken prisoner at the battle of Tenchebrai (1106); which was won mainly by the valour of the English levies who joyfully accompanied Henry to conquer Normandy in revenge for Hastings. Henry took possession of the duchy, which was thus joined again to the crown of England. Robert spent the rest of his days in captivity, but in later years Henry had some trouble because the discontented Norman barons tried to set up Robert's young son William Clito in his place.

Normandy.

Henry had a fair excuse for his dealings with Robert. The duke at the treaty of Alton had agreed with his brother that each was to suppress treason against the other amongst the Normans under his own rule. As matters stood, Normandy was bound to remain a hotbed of sedition against Henry for Normans who were or wished to be barons in both lands. There could be no security for him till he had Normandy in his own hands, if Robert could not or would not keep the plotters in order.

Henry and Anselm.

He had trouble also with Anselm in those first years; for which neither could be blamed. Like most, if not all, of the kings before him, Henry required the churchmen to do homage to him for their 'temporalities,' the lands they held—that is, to treat him as the overlord, just as the holders of any other estates would be obliged to do. But this was one of the points in dispute between the Pope and the emperor. When Pope Urban held the Council at Clermont which started the Crusades, he had pronounced that the clergy were not to do homage for their temporalities. Urban was dead, but the new Pope Paschal took the same view. Anselm had done homage to William, but that was before the Council of Clermont; now he said he could not do homage to Henry without the Pope's permission which Paschal refused. Henry would not give way, so there was a deadlock. For some time the archbishop, having tried but failed to persuade the Pope, remained abroad. But at last an agreement was reached. The king was not to appoint bishops and abbots, who were to be elected by the clergy; but as his approval was required, it came to very nearly the same thing. They were to do homage for their temporalities, but were not to receive the symbols of their sacred office from the unconsecrated hands of any layman, even the king. This agreement was made in 1107, and was almost the same as that reached fifteen years later by the Pope and the Emperor Henry v. (the husband of King Henry's daughter) at the Concordat of Worms.

There was no quarrel; Anselm was always good friends with the king who at all times wished to be on good terms with the clergy, but would allow nothing to diminish the royal authority without which there could be no strong or steady government.

4. The power of Henry.

Strong and steady government was what Henry gave the country; and coming after the tyranny of William II., this was such a boon that it won for him the name of the 'Lion of Justice.' There was nothing heroic or noble about him; but he preferred order to disorder, peace to war, justice to injustice, because these things brought prosperity to the country, and the prosperity of the country increased his own wealth and his power abroad. He never allowed his passions to overrule his judgment, and his judgment was particularly shrewd and far-seeing; and therefore in what he set out to do he was habitually successful. If he had to fight, he was a skilful soldier, though not such a mighty man of his hands as his father and brothers; but his enemies were more afraid of his brains than of his sword; he outwitted them in preference to fighting them.

So because it was to his own advantage, he made the clergy feel that he was their supporter, the barons that he was their master, the English that he was their protector, and all men that it was wiser to be his friend than his adversary. Therefore his rule was strong. Between his subjects, justice was to be secured without fear or favour; therefore it was respected. And he organised his government—arranged the methods by which it was to be carried on—as a matter of business; he put what we may call its machinery in better order, so that if anything was going wrong it could be found out and set right; therefore it was successful.

The new machinery.

A strong king like himself was needed to make it successful; in the nineteen years which followed his death there was not a strong king, and the government could hardly have been made worse. But he had shown the way, and his grandson Henry II. was able to restore the machinery which had fallen to pieces and to improve upon it so that it went on working when there was no king in England to control it, when there was a thoroughly bad king, and when there was a king who did not understand the business of kingship at all.

The machinery was concerned with two things: the administration of justice, and finance, the raising and collecting of revenue.

Justice was administered in the Manor court which had been the township moot, and the Shire court; the Hundred court had almost fallen out of use. The lord of the manor and the sheriff were practically the judges. But there was also—as there always had been—a King's court, before which certain offences were tried instead of in the manor or shire court, and to which also an appeal could be made against judgments in the other courts. This was meant to be a check, to prevent injustice being done in the lower courts. But it was very difficult for any one at a distance to come and appeal to the king's court, the Curia Regis. So Henry started the plan of sending down judges from his own court, on tour through different parts of the country, partly to hear appeals, partly to watch how the shire courts were doing their work and to give them guidance, partly to see that the lords of the manors were not taking into their own hands the management of cases which ought to go to the shire court or the king's court. These judges who were sent out were called *Itinerant* (or travelling) justices. As a rule, they were not lay magnates (as nearly all sheriffs were) but men chosen for skill in the law, generally churchmen. The king's own court remained as before.

Justice.

But the Curia Regis was not only a law-court; it dealt with the revenue, and for that part of its business it became known as the Court of Exchequer. The revenue, the king's income, came partly from his own estates, partly from the 'feudal dues' payable by his tenants-in-chief in addition to or in place of military service, partly from the Danegeld tax, and partly from the fines which were penalties exacted by the law-courts for breaches of the law. It was the business of the sheriff in each shire to collect this and pay it over to the king twice a year, and the Court of Exchequer had to receive it, examine the accounts, and see that everything was being done as it should be, and the right amount was being paid in. We find under Henry that the revenue from the estates was reckoned as a fixed sum every year, not changing from year to year, and paid in silver, not as in the old days reckoned 'in kind'; which shows that the precious metals were becoming much more plentiful; and that shows that English goods were being exchanged for the silver of foreign lands; which is another way of saying that English commerce was increasing.

Revenue.

Henry reigned for five and thirty years. Then he died quite suddenly, and all his work seemed to go to pieces, because there was no one to take his place.

He had a son, William, and a daughter, Matilda or Maud. William should have been his heir. Maud, while very young, was married to the German emperor Henry v. William was drowned before he was twenty, and no one would have thought of making the German empress queen of England. The next heirs were Theobald and Stephen of Blois, the sons of Henry's sister Adela. But when the emperor died, leaving no children, in 1125, Henry resolved that Maud should succeed him as queen, and made the barons swear that they would give her their allegiance. Then Maud married Geoffrey, the heir of the Count of Anjou. If Maud became queen, Anjou and Normandy and England would all be joined under one head—and that head would be the Count of Anjou, which would not suit the Norman barons; half of whom considered that because of the marriage their promise of allegiance was no longer binding. Still Henry expected them to keep their pledge. But he died unexpectedly, while he was in Normandy and Maud was in Anjou. Whereupon the barons in Normandy and the witan in England both elected Stephen of Blois, in spite of their pledges to Maud. The election in England was managed by the clergy, led by Henry, bishop of Winchester, who was Stephen's brother; because Stephen gave promises which would have set the churchmen in England almost entirely free from control by the king.

A doubtful succession.

AT first it seemed that there was no serious trouble in store. Maud and her husband threatened, and denounced the perjury of the barons who had broken their oath; but there seemed to be no real chance of upsetting Stephen. Two men might have taken up Maud's cause—her uncle David, king of Scots (who had taken the oath of allegiance as earl of Huntingdon), and her illegitimate half-brother, Robert of Gloucester; but they made no move, till the third year. Meanwhile Stephen had been showing himself very like his uncle Robert of Normandy—good-natured and easy-going, a 'bonny fighter' in single combat, but quite incapable of controlling the barons who paid no attention at all to his authority either in England or Normandy; and all over England they were beginning to build the stone castles which the Conqueror and his sons had never permitted. Hitherto all the castles had been the king's own.

5. King Stephen.

In 1138 the real trouble began. Robert of Gloucester renounced his allegiance to Stephen, and the west rose for Maud. David of Scotland harried the Border; the Welsh attacked the Marches. While Stephen was marching about in the south, David led a Scottish army into the north country. Northumbria cared little

Battle of the Standard.

about either Maud or Stephen, but it rose against the invading Scots and routed them at the battle of Northallerton, or the Standard—the English army had been collected by the old archbishop of York, and marched under the consecrated standards taken from the cathedral of York—to which fact the victory was piously attributed. But in spite of the rout, David only made peace in return for the English earldom of Northumberland.

For the rest of the reign there was no more government. The big nobles fought for Maud or Stephen, changing sides as suited them.

The Anarchy.

The small men fought under the big men's standards, or made war on each other. Everybody pillaged his neighbours as he thought fit, robbing and murdering right and left and committing every conceivable kind of outrage. In those fearful days, says the chronicler, 'men deemed that Christ and His saints slept.' Might was right, and nothing counted but the strong hand.

Only the clergy made some sort of effort to preserve ideas of right and wrong, and to protect the defenceless in the name of religion ; but they could do little when every one was feeling that the laws of the Church and the laws of the realm were equally powerless. And the leading churchmen were more bent on making the Church independent of the Crown than on ending the general lawlessness.

It is not worth while to describe the course of the struggle. Maud came to England while Geoffrey her husband tried to conquer Normandy. At one time she had the upper hand, and was proclaimed 'Lady of England' ; at another she was flying on foot across the snow to escape capture by Stephen. Once she had him prisoner, but as Robert of Gloucester was a prisoner too both were set free. After ten years of it, she withdrew from England, but her husband was master of Normandy. The fight for the crown seemed to be over, but still there was no government in England.

Then Geoffrey died (1151). His son Henry, lord of Anjou and Normandy at the age of eighteen, promptly married Eleanor, the heiress of

Henry of Anjou.

Aquitaine, and became lord of that as well—altogether, lord of more than half France. In 1153 he came over to England, and the war might have started again but for the death of Stephen's son Eustace. Henry was content with an agreement (the treaty of Wallingford) that he should wait for the crown till Stephen's death, when there would be no one to dispute the succession. And within a year Stephen was dead.

VI. Ireland, Wales, and Scotland: to 1154.

Ireland—Wales—Early Scotland—Malcolm Canmore and his Sons.

1. The Celtic area.

While telling the story of England, we have said so little about Scotland and Ireland and Wales that we must go back now a long way to see what had been going on in the Celtic part of the British Isles during the centuries that had passed since the English conquest.

One reason why we have said so little is that there is very much less known. From the time when monasteries were started in England in the seventh century the monks there began writing down the traditions about the conquest and also some account of what was going on in their own times. The Venerable Bede in the eighth century put together something like a history; Alfred at the end of the ninth collected the 'Chronicles' which had been written up to that time; and after that the 'Anglo-Saxon Chronicle' was kept on regularly till a hundred years after the Norman conquest. But there was nothing of this kind in Celtic Britain, though here and there some things were written down, mostly old legends which could not possibly have been true but from which we can extract something of the truth.

Ireland.

Neither the Romans nor the Saxons ever tried to conquer Ireland, which was very much cut off from the rest of the world. Celts everywhere, unless they were 'Latinised' by the Romans, remained under the clan and tribal system; and they had not been really Latinised in any part of Britain as they had been in Gaul (France). The tribes formed into kingdoms very slowly, and even when they did so they did not become united—they were still only a collection of tribes each with its own head, but all owning one as more or less the head of the group. The kingdoms and principalities in Scotland and Wales were always coming in contact with English kingdoms on their borders, and felt among themselves the influence of their English neighbours in some degree; but English influences did not touch the Irish at all.

So except for one thing they remained wholly Celtic. The one thing was that the Vikings (the sea-rovers) from Norway, or sometimes from Denmark, raided them from the sea and made settlements of their own on the coast. But they did not establish themselves in anything like the same way as the Danes in the Danelagh or the Normans in Normandy; they were only small colonies here and there. About the time when Sweyn was making himself king of England, the Northmen in Ireland tried to make a bigger conquest there, but were badly beaten by the great Irish chief or king, Brian Boroihme (or Boru as his name is usually spelt) at the battle of Clontarf (1014); and after that, though they were not driven out of their settlements, there was no attempt at a Norse conquest. In short, just as the Viking folk became English with a very little difference in the Danelagh and French with a little difference in Normandy, so in Ireland they presently became Irish with no visible difference at all.

Boru.

But the unhappy thing about Ireland was that it made no progress. In the fifth and sixth centuries it was the home from which Christian missionaries went forth to convert the Picts; the early legends of Scotland and Ireland are full of wonderful stories about Irish saints; they were the creators of that Celtic Church of which we spoke in an earlier chapter, to which all England would probably have been joined if Oswy's Synod of Whitby had not decided in favour of the Latin or Roman Church. But somehow the Irish, having no dangerous enemy outside against whom they must unite, never became united, and the ceaseless feuds which went on between the tribes prevented them from learning and practising the arts of peace or the business of government. And so in the twelfth century Ireland was still made up of a collection of kingdoms which sometimes recognised one of the kings as high-king of all Ireland, while any tribe anywhere was ready to make war upon any other on the smallest provocation. And the whole country still followed the Celtic Church which the popes and the Roman Church denounced as heretical—that is, teaching false doctrines.

Irish disunion.

THE English had never been able to conquer the Britons in the Welsh mountains. Dwellers in the plains do not easily learn the art of fighting among hills where the hillmen have learnt to move swiftly and an army has to advance through passes which a few resolute men can hold against much larger numbers. In the eighth century Offa had made the barrier—his 'Dyke'—which could be defended against invaders from the Welsh side, while beyond it it was better to leave the Britons to themselves than to waste men in attempts at conquest. In the four centuries before the English came, the Britons had not been really Latinised, but they had learnt to live under an orderly government; and when they were cooped up in Wales they still remained more orderly among themselves than the

2. Wales.

Picts in the north and the Irish across the Channel who had never been under the firm Roman government. However, even after Offa's time they were troublesome neighbours for the English in Mercia. The kings of the House of Wessex had not set about conquering them, but had found it necessary to teach them that they would suffer more than they could gain by raiding into Mercia; the Welsh princes generally owned the English king as 'father and lord' and paid him some sort of tribute—sometimes it was so many wolves' heads; since the packs of wolves, of which there were still great numbers, made their lairs in the Welsh hills and came down on the English lands in winter. We have seen how Gryffyd of North Wales gave trouble in the Confessor's time by helping the rebellions of Alfgar Leofricson. Welsh princes, in short, sometimes paid and sometimes refused tribute to the English, who were now and then driven to sending expeditions to Wales such as those led by Harold; but an English government was never set up there, nor was the whole of Wales ever united under a single king of its own.

3. Early Scotland.

SCOTLAND followed a different course. By the middle of the eleventh century it had become a single kingdom separated from England by the Solway and the Tweed, the boundaries which remain to this day—almost the same as the Romans had drawn with their great wall between 'Britannia' and Pictish or Gaelic 'Caledonia' which they never brought under their regular rule. Caledonia in the fifth century was in very much the same state—only wilder—as Britain had been when Julius Caesar visited it. So when the English invasion began, the Angles planted themselves along the whole east coast of the island, even along the narrow strip between the mountains and the sea from the Forth up to Aberdeen. From that northern strip they could not push inland; the Highlanders remained wholly Gaelic, and during the next century or two these hill-folk were for the most part very loosely joined together in the 'Pictish' kingdom. Not altogether; for on the west coast, about the mouth of the Clyde and where Argyllshire is now, the Gaelic Scots from Ireland settled themselves and set up the small Scots kingdom called Dalriada which by the middle of the eleventh century had absorbed all the rest not only of the Highlands but of the Lowlands as well.

But though the Angles beyond the Forth never pushed in far from the coast, they did by degrees make themselves masters of the eastern Lowlands between the Forth and the Tyne which were called Bernicia (or much later the Lothians) and formed part of the English kingdom of Northumbria; but here, whatever may have happened farther south, the population was quite as much Celtic as English, though the English language and customs became generally established. The western Lowlands—'Strathclyde'—remained outside the English kingdom, and for a long time the Celtic 'kingdom of Strathclyde' generally included 'Cumbria,' which means roughly our Cumberland, Westmorland, and Lancashire.

Union of Picts and Scots.

The Scots kingdom grew, learning something from its English neighbours, with whom it was sometimes on terms of friendship, sometimes of enmity; but in closer touch with its kinsmen of the Pictish kingdom. The Scots rule of succession to the kingship was much the same as that of the English; the Pictish rule fixed the succession in the female line. The royal families intermarried; and so it fell out that while Alfred's father was reigning in Wessex, the Scots king Kenneth M'Alpine was also the heir of the Pictish kingdom and became king of 'Alban,' the united kingdom of Pict-land and Scot-land. The name of the Picts disappeared; the kings were always known as kings of the Scots, but for nearly two hundred years they succeeded each other alternately by the Scottish and Pictish rules of succession.

When Knut was king in England, the Scot Malcolm II., being already king of Strathclyde, took Bernicia from the earl whom Knut had set over it; Knut let him keep it on condition of doing homage—as we have seen earlier Scots kings taking English kings as father and lord. From this time all that we now call Scotland was included in the Scots kingdom.

4. Malcolm Canmore.

MALCOLM wanted his own son Duncan to succeed him and get rid altogether of the Pictish rule, under which the heir was a child Luath whose guardian was a noble named Macbeth. Duncan managed to seize the crown; Macbeth fought for the rights of his ward Luath, and killed Duncan, whose wife was the daughter of Siward of Northumbria. Duncan's young son Malcolm escaped to Siward, and when he grew up returned to Scotland, overthrew Macbeth (1056) who had made himself king, and ruled Scotland throughout the reign of William the Conqueror and part of that of Rufus. That is the true story out of which grew the legend which Shakespeare used when he wrote the great tragedy *Macbeth*.

Malcolm Canmore (*Ceanmohr*—'Big-head' in the Gaelic tongue) was a shrewd and cautious king; he knew that in a straight fight with the Conqueror or his son he was sure to be beaten, and he took very good care to avoid exciting their anger—or at any rate not to go so far that they would not be satisfied by his explanations. All his predecessors on the Scots throne had been Celts; but he himself was half Dane—on the mother's side; he had been brought up by old Siward in Northumbria among Danes and English; and he meant to make Scotland more like an English than a Celtic kingdom. Scotland was a poor country, but the richest part of it was half English already in customs and language if not actually in blood. He married an English wife, Margaret the sister of the Atheling, who had been brought up at the English court of the Confessor. She was very pious and very liberal to the churchmen, but her influence brought them over to the views of religion that she had learnt from the Confessor which were more English than Celtic and more Norman than English.

The Lowlands Anglicised.

The consequence of all these things taken together was important. Neither Malcolm, nor Margaret, nor their subjects had the slightest intention of becoming vassals of the Norman kings of England, though they had no objection to paying formal homage in order to escape invasion and conquest; but the greater part of south Scotland became Anglicised—much more English than before, in manners and customs, in religion, and in the methods of government.

Now though it was said that Malcolm was king over all that we know as Scotland, this was not true of the islands or of the extreme north, Caithness, where during the last two centuries Vikings from Norway had been settling themselves, generally mixing with the Gaelic population. In fact Caithness was almost entirely Norse, and the people in the islands and on the fringe of the west coast were hardly more Celtic than Norse, from the isle of Skye down south to the Isle of Man. And if their chiefs owned to having a king at all they would have said he was not the king of Scots but the king of Norway.

Further, half the clans in the Highlands regarded Malcolm as a usurper who had no right to the crown according to the old law of succession. And they were all the more ready to think so because they counted him a Saxon, a *Sassenach*, bent on turning them all into Sassenachs instead of Gaels. In fact many centuries passed before the Gaelic part of Scotland began to think of itself as really at one with the southern Sassenach half of it, just as that southern half stoutly declined to be absorbed by the really English England.

BATTERSE

Norman nobles.

We have already seen how three of Malcolm's sons reigned after him in succession, and how Henry I. married their sister who is sometimes called Maud and sometimes Edith—the mother of the Empress Maud who became the mother of Henry II. All the three, Edgar, Alexander I., and David I., carried on the work of Malcolm and Margaret in Anglicising the Lowlands. But David in particular went much farther in Normanising them, making large grants of land in Scotland to Normans some of whom had great estates in England, and introducing feudal interpretations of the law borrowed from the Normans. But always it was with the aim not of preparing the way for Scotland to be swallowed by England, but of making Scotland strong enough to hold her own, and perhaps of drawing Cumbria and half Northumbria into the Scottish instead of the English allegiance.

CHRONOLOGY

1066-1154.

(Kings of England, on their accession, are printed in CAPITALS.)

(Scottish and Irish events are printed in *Italics*.)

England.		Scotland, Ireland, and Europe.	
1066-87.	WILLIAM I., the Conqueror.		
1067.	Subjection of the south.	1073-84.	Gregory VII. (Hildebrand), Pope.
1070.	Conquest of the north.		
1086.	Domesday Book.		
1087-1100.	WILLIAM II., Rufus.	1088-99.	Urban II., Pope.
1093-7.	William and Anselm.	1093.	*Death of Malcolm III.*
		1095.	Council of Clermont.
		1097-9.	First Crusade.
1100-35.	HENRY I., Beauclerc.		
1106.	Battle of Tenchebrai.		
1107.	Investiture dispute settled.	1124-53.	*David I., king of Scots.*
1135-54.	Stephen.	1138.	English win battle of the Standard.

NORMAN LAWS

Both the Conqueror and Henry I. promised to rule England by English law. But William and his lawyers took for granted that

All land belongs to the king, and all persons who hold land, not as tenants of another overlord, hold it from the king as his immediate tenants or 'vassals.' Such landholders are 'tenants-in-chief' or 'barons, king's 'men.' Those who hold land from another overlord are 'mesne tenants,' and their overlord is either himself a mesne tenant, or a tenant-in-chief, because all land is held from some overlord or other. There may be a whole string of mesne tenants between the actual holder and the king, but the string always ends up with the king.

At the **Moot of Salisbury** (1086) it is generally said that it was declared to be the law that mesne tenants as well as barons owed allegiance to the king more binding than the allegiance to their immediate overlord. This 'moot' was an armed gathering summoned to Salisbury Plain, because the king of Denmark was preparing to invade England. The intended invasion however came to nothing.

William I. also made new laws of his own:

Forest Laws, inflicting merciless punishments for slaying game—deer, boars, and other wild animals—in the king's forests.

Curfew, requiring all fires to be extinguished at eight o'clock.

Murthrum, murder of a Norman (not of an Englishman), had a special punishment if the actual murderer was not found. The 'hundred' in which the murder had been committed was heavily fined.

William I. and Lanfranc devised the law which required offences against Church laws to be dealt with in Church courts, while other offences were tried in the ordinary secular courts.

Henry I. in 1100 issued a Charter, promising to restore the 'good Laws' of Edward (the Confessor) and William I. which had been broken by William II.

THE FORCES: NORMAN

The military forces that a Norman or early Plantagenet king could summon were of three kinds: (1) the Fyrd or shire-levies; (2) the Feudal levies; (3) Mercenaries.

The **Fyrd** were the freemen of the shire who might be called to arms by the sheriff, as in earlier times they had been summoned by the ealdorman, the principal king's-officer in the shire. Whether they could lawfully be compelled to serve outside their own shire is doubtful. They were under command of the sheriff.

The **Feudal levy** was raised not by the king's officers, but by the tenants-in-chief—the 'barons' who held their land from the king on condition of military service, according to the extent and character of their lands. The baron was required to join the king's standard with so many mounted men and so many foot soldiers—whom he in his turn summoned from among his own tenants. These by feudal custom were bound to serve, but only for forty days. Keeping them in arms for a longer time was a matter of bargaining. Whether they could lawfully be required to serve oversea was an often-disputed question.

The **Mercenaries** were hired soldiery, troops whom some adventurer, usually a foreigner, had taken into his pay. They were hired by bargain with their captain. Rufus, Stephen, the Empress Maud, and afterwards John, employed numbers of mercenaries.

The Fyrd (afterwards known as the Militia) were almost entirely foot soldiers; but rendered good service to the Crown in suppressing rebellious barons. But though there were such troops at Tenchebrai, when Henry I. defeated his brother Robert in Normandy, they were not really a force available for service oversea.

For the Fleet, the Channel Ports—especially the 'Cinque Ports,' five ports in Kent and Sussex, Sandwich, Dover, Hythe, Romney, and Hastings—were required to maintain a certain number of ships for the protection of the 'narrow' seas—the Channel—and certain barons were also required to maintain a number of ships.

CHAPTER IV

THE SHAPING OF ENGLAND: 1154-1272.

I. Europe: 1154-1272.

The Period—Barbarossa and the Third Crusade—The Papacy and the Hohenstaufen—The Great Cities—France.

THIS chapter will cover the period from the middle of the twelfth century to the end of the third quarter of the thirteenth; in England from the accession of Henry II. in 1154 to the accession of Edward I. in 1272.

1. The Period.

During that time England became a united nation in which every one from the top to the bottom thought of himself as an Englishman, France became a solid kingdom in which the king was much more powerful than any of his feudatories. But in Germany the Hohenstaufen emperors, partly because they were trying to make a single solid state of the whole empire, Germany and Italy together, not only failed to unite the empire but failed also to make Germany by itself a united nation. A number of able and vigorous popes raised the power and influence of the Papacy to the highest point that it ever reached; but in doing so they acted so much like temporal princes aiming at political dominion that the moral influence of the Church began to wane again just when their power seemed greatest. In the Spanish peninsula, two Christian states, Aragon and Castile, were pressing the Moorish dominion back into the south. But in the East, the Saracens recovered and held their sway over Syria and Palestine, while the Greek Empire was broken up not by the Turks but by 'Latin' armies from the West, in what was shamefully misnamed the 'Fourth Crusade.' French and English affairs are very much mixed together; but though they are not as yet closely bound up with the struggles which were going on in Germany and Italy between the emperors, their German subjects, their Italian subjects, and the Pope, or with the increasing power of the Papacy, both France and England were entangled in one or another or all of them from time to time, as well as in the contests between

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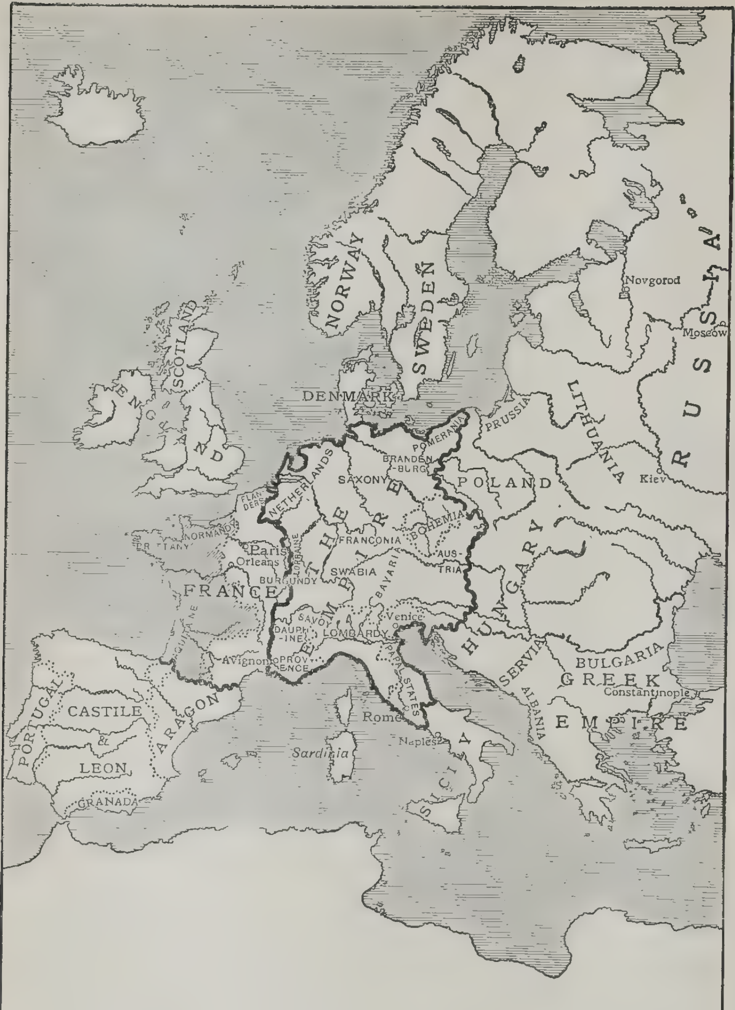


EUROPE IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

Boundaries of the Empire and France.................. ▬

Extent of Angevin Dominions in France.................. ▨

Emery Walker sc.

Christendom and the Saracens in the East. So it will help us if we work out first a sort of plan of the period.

2. Frederick Barbarossa.

After the death of the Emperor Henry v. there was a great rivalry in Germany between the two powerful Houses of Hohenstaufen or Weiblingen and Welf. (Afterwards these two names were twisted into Ghibelline and Guelph, just as our William is Guillaume in French, and were used for the two great parties, especially in Italy which at first supported the one or the other.) In 1152 Frederick of Hohenstaufen, called Barbarossa (Red-beard), was elected, the Welf Henry the Lion being Duke of Saxony.

Frederick reigned for thirty-eight years and died in 1190, on Crusade —a year after our Henry ii. During his life he tried to force the great Lombard League of almost independent cities in the north of Italy to submit to his authority, but failed in the end. Also there was a long contest between him and the two vigorous Popes Adrian iv. and Alexander iii., which ended, along with his defeat by the Lombard League, in his submission to Alexander. In Germany however, where Henry the Lion was his chief antagonist, he succeeded in establishing his authority. It was because the Welf duke sided as a matter of course with the Pope against the emperor that the two parties whom we should call the Papalists and the Imperialists were named Guelphs and Ghibellines.

Frederick II.

Though Frederick Barbarossa failed in north Italy, he married his son (who became Henry vi.) to the heiress of the Norman king of Sicily, and Henry before his own death in 1197 (two years before our Richard i.) established himself as king of Sicily (which meant south Italy or Apulia as well as the island), though this did not make Sicily part of the empire. So when Henry died his little son Frederick ii. (who was so amazingly clever that in after years men named him 'the Wonder of the World') became king of Sicily but not yet emperor. Then for a time there were two rival emperors; but one was killed and the other, the Welf Otto iv., reigned till 1215. Thus the reigns of these three emperors covered very nearly the same years as those of our three kings, Henry ii., Richard i., and John (who died in 1216). The reign of Pope Innocent iii. corresponds with those of Otto and John.

Before Otto died Frederick ii. was elected emperor, and reigned till 1150 when John's son Henry iii. was still reigning in England. And then the House of Hohenstaufen perished, and there was no emperor at all till Rudolf of Hapsburg was elected in 1273, the year after Edward I. succeeded his father Henry III. in England. So that the reign of this fourth king of England just covers both that of the fourth emperor and the 'Interregnum' which followed before there was another emperor.

Two Crusades.

Now the big Crusade which is commonly counted as the Second took place in 1147-8. Nothing was gained by it, and it concerns us only because both the king of France, Louis VII., and the German emperor Conrad took part in it, and their absence from France and Germany prevented both of them from pushing forward the policy of strengthening the Crown against the feudatories. But a few years later the Turk Saladin had become Sultan over the parts of western Asia which were under Saracen rule. He attacked the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem and captured the Holy City itself in 1187.

All Christendom was shocked by the great disaster, and made its mightiest effort since the First Crusade to unite and recover the Holy Land from the infidel; and so Frederick Barbarossa, Richard of England, and Philip II. of France all joined in the Third Crusade. But Frederick died on his way to Palestine through Asia Minor; the princes who took their armies to the Holy Land by sea fell to quarrelling; Philip returned to France; Richard on his way to England was captured and held prisoner for a long time in Germany, and the great Crusade failed. Palestine remained in possession of the Saracens.

3. Innocent III.

BARBAROSSA'S son Henry VI., being in possession of Sicily as well as head of the empire, had vast schemes for extending his dominion over the east; but all were shattered by his death when he was only thirty-two. Sicily remained under the charge of his widow, but the empire was rent by the struggle for supremacy between the Hohenstaufen Philip of Swabia and the Welf Otto of Brunswick. And just at this moment, the Papacy passed into the hands of the most powerful of all the popes, Innocent III. He could almost make his own terms with the rival emperors, and with Philip of France and John of England in their quarrels. The side taken by the Pope was almost certain to win; with the result that Innocent claimed and very nearly won for the Papacy recognition as supreme over emperors and kings—as we shall see when we come to the story of King John.

Innocent was followed by a long line of Popes who were generally vigorous. For some time they remained on good terms with Frederick II., who was leaving Germany very much to itself. There was little of the German about him, for he had been brought up in Sicily as a Sicilian, and he looked upon Sicily, not Germany, as the centre of his power. His serious quarrels with the Popes started over his long delay in carrying out promises to lead a Fifth Crusade—the Fourth, in Pope Innocent's time, had turned aside to divide the Greek Empire among the nobles, who ought to have been on their way to Palestine. We need not go into the story of his later years. The emperor's great antagonist was Pope Innocent IV.; and the struggle ended with the fall of the Hohenstaufen, the complete separation of Sicily from the empire, and the beginning of contests between various rivals for the throne of Sicily.

Fall of the Hohenstaufen.

It was at this point that England became involved in these European troubles. For when the Hohenstaufen were wiped out, the German princes wanted an emperor who would be merely a figurehead without power—so that in 1257 one group elected the English king's brother, Richard of Cornwall, 'King of the Romans,' and another elected Alfonso the Wise of Castile. England, however, did nothing to help Richard, after whose death the Germans elected a minor prince, Rudolf of Hapsburg. Also for some years Henry of England was vainly trying to win the crown of Sicily for his younger son Edmund. But in 1266 the attempt was given up, and Charles of Anjou, youngest brother of the French king Louis IX., became king of the Sicilies. The story of what happened afterwards belongs to a later chapter.

4. Free Cities.

This was the time of the growth of big cities everywhere, which became 'free,' though becoming free did not mean quite the same thing in different countries. One thing it did always mean—freedom from the rule of feudal overlords, and self-government for the cities.

In Italy there had always been big towns since the Roman times. When feudalism grew up, the towns and the lands attached to them belonged to dukes and counts and so on like any other estates, whether they were old towns like those in north Italy or new towns which were growing up, as commerce increased, in Germany, France, or Britain. But the cities could not increase their wealth rapidly under overlords who saw in the increase of wealth the opportunity for taxing their subjects more and more heavily—in other words, for putting into their own pockets the greater part of the wealth their subjects were earning. This was a state of things which shrewd kings did not like, because it helped to increase the power of the great feudatories which they always wanted to diminish; and of course it did not suit the cities, which wanted at least to limit the power of their lords over them, which the lords themselves were always trying to extend. Thus the townsmen, the burgesses as they were called in England, in the first place struggled to resist any claim of the lords which they looked upon as illegal, and in the second place were often ready to purchase release from claims which were actually legal. The kings encouraged them in both, and the lords were often willing to sell their claims on terms which it was worth while for the towns to accept. And so within the German part of the empire the towns which were doing the most trade and were wealthiest became 'Free Cities,' meaning that they had no overlord between themselves and the emperor—they ceased to be subjects of any of his vassals; while others, though they were not free cities in the full sense, purchased from their lords rights of self-government and freedom from the more oppressive of the lords' claims.

The Lombard League.

Of these free cities we shall hear more at a later stage. But in north Italy things went much further than in Germany. In Barbarossa's time a number of cities had already got rid of their overlords and set up governments of their own: each was in the position of one of the emperor's own feudatories, and the bigger ones had made themselves overlords of weaker ones. Frederick wanted to control them just as he wanted to control his feudatories in Germany; his fight with the Lombard League was like his fight with Henry the Lion of Saxony, though in the long run he was beaten in the one and victorious in the other. And the result of his defeat was that each of these great cities, Venice, Florence, and the rest, was practically an independent state, at the most professing an allegiance to the empire which meant very nearly nothing.

In these city-states, with their vigorous political life in which a large portion of the inhabitants had an active share, there began the great intellectual movement in Art and Letters which is called the Renascence; though it was a long time before it had much influence outside of Italy.

5. The French Kingdom.

WE have left France to the last, because it comes nearest to England and because so much of what was going on there is so closely bound up with what was going on in England that much of it will have to be told in the course of the English story.

When the Conqueror came to England, the king of France was hardly more than a great noble whom the other nobles chose to recognise as their head, and to obey when it suited them. While the Normans were ruling in England, Philip I. and Louis VI. in France were making it their business to increase the power of the Crown—partly by fostering quarrels among the great feudatories and backing the weaker, partly by taking every opportunity of inflicting fines and forfeitures upon them for breaches of duty as vassals—whereby their money went to the royal treasury and their lands to the royal estates; and partly by encouraging the growth of 'free' self-governing towns which were sure to be royalist in differences between the Crown and the feudatories. But under Louis VII. the marriage of the young Count of Anjou made him lord of more than half the territories in France. The great change came in the reign of Philip II. Before his death in 1223, the Crown was owner of more than half France; which in the long reign of his grandson Louis IX. (1226-70) became the best-ruled state in Europe.

II. Henry II.: 1154-1189.

The First Plantagenet—Reconstruction—King and Archbishop—The Annexation of Ireland—Henry's Later Years—His Work.

1. Henry II.

HENRY OF ANJOU was one-and-twenty when he became king of England on Stephen's death. From Anjou he and his first descendants are sometimes called the Angevin kings, though Anjou was lost in the reign of his son John, being forfeited to the French crown. Then it was given to one of the French princes, Charles, who became Count of Anjou, which explains why there was afterwards an Angevin dynasty in the south of Italy which had nothing to do with the Angevin dynasty in England; as it was, this Charles of Anjou became king of Sicily.

The other name given to the dynasty in England is Plantagenet, from the *planta genesta*, the sprig of broom, which the counts of Anjou wore on their helmets as a distinguishing mark. Though the Plantagenets split into two divisions—the Houses of York and Lancaster—in the fifteenth century, both were descended, in an unbroken male line from father to son, from Henry II., so that every king had the same family name, Plantagenet, until 1485.

The Angevin dominion.

Henry succeeded to the throne of England because he was the son of the Empress Maud, daughter of Henry I. Through her he inherited also the dukedom of Normandy and the overlordship of the county of Brittany. From his father came not only Anjou but also Maine and Poitou. He had just married Eleanor, duchess of Aquitaine. She had already been married to Louis VII., but the two quarrelled so much that they got the marriage 'annulled' on the plea of 'consanguinity'; which means that they were such near relations that according to the rules of the Church their marriage had been unlawful, and the Pope pronounced that it had never been a real marriage. So Eleanor married Henry instead of Louis, and the duchy of Aquitaine, which meant the whole south-western quarter of France, was added to the dominions of the House of Anjou, instead of to the estates of the French royal family. Henry was suzerain over more territory in France than the king and all his other vassals put together, though he was himself the vassal of King Louis. The kingdom of England, which was independent of the French Crown, was only one big province in the dominions of the Count of Anjou—who was more anxious to make himself the most powerful prince on the Continent than to make England a powerful state.

But Henry, like his grandfather, was one of those people who have an instinct for order. Having possession of the English kingdom, he could not rest without bringing it up to his idea of what a kingdom ought to be. And so he took what the English kings had done, what the Conqueror had done, and what Henry I. had done, and welded them all together, with some changes, until he had brought the machinery of government into such smooth order that it went on running in spite of the perpetual absence of Richard I. from England and of all the iniquities of King John.

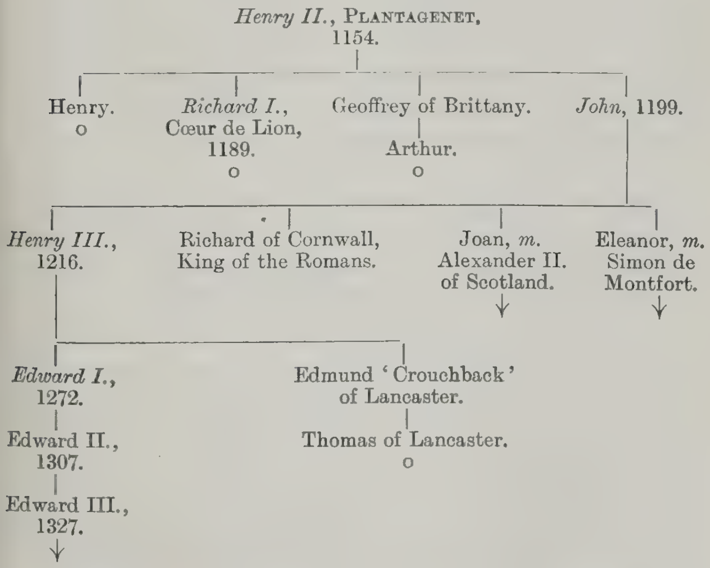
2. Restoring order.

THE young king found his new kingdom in a woeful state. For the last fifteen years it had been without any government which could enforce law and protect the persons and property of the people from violence and outrage and robbery. It had been given over to the tender mercies of bands of hired fighting-men, 'mercenaries,' adventurers collected from abroad who came to prey upon the helpless people. The land was covered with the castles their captains had built. For the last year or two there had been the sort of rest which comes from downright exhaustion. But very nearly every one—except the mercenaries—was ready to hail with joy any one who would keep order and enforce law with a strong hand.

Young as he was, Henry had been actively engaged in the business of war and statecraft for some years, and already understood both better than most men. Both in mind and body his activity startled every one;

nothing could tire him; the swiftness of his decisions was matched by the swiftness of his movements in carrying them out; if messengers announced his coming anywhere, he arrived on their heels. He gave no one time to prepare for resistance. The 'adulterine' castles—those which had been built without the royal authority—were pulled down. All the lesser and most of the greater barons were ready to stand by a ruler who could rule; the misery of Stephen's reign had taught them the blessedness of law and order. Here was a king who was determined to maintain the king's Peace throughout his realms. No man should break the king's Peace by attacking his neighbour, without bringing down on himself the king's punishment. Before Henry had been a year on the throne, he had cleared the mercenaries out of the country, ensured the united support of the lesser barons and the clergy, and won over most of the greater barons to the side of law. Life and limb and property were secured to peasant as well as to lord.

THE PLANTAGENETS


Henry II., Plantagenet, 1154.
Henry. o
Richard I., Cœur de Lion, 1189. o
Geoffrey of Brittany.
Arthur. o
John, 1199.
Henry III., 1216.
Richard of Cornwall, King of the Romans.
Joan, *m.* Alexander II. of Scotland.
Eleanor, *m.* Simon de Montfort.
Edward I., 1272.
Edward II., 1307.
Edward III., 1327.
Edmund 'Crouchback' of Lancaster.
Thomas of Lancaster. o

Italics, King of England. ↓ Left issue. o Left no issue.

Henry chose two strong and trustworthy nobles as 'Justiciars,' with Archbishop Theobald as their counsellor, to govern the kingdom in his absence, and went off to France to assert by force of arms his wife's claims to still another county, that of Toulouse which lay next to Aquitaine, in the south. For some years he was generally occupied in France though he paid flying visits to England where affairs were working smoothly. Then in 1161, the seventh year of the reign, Archbishop Theobald died and fresh trouble began.

The Church.

The king and the churchmen had worked well together in the reigns of William I. and Henry I. Lanfranc and his successors had ruled the Church without interference from the king, to whom they had been wise counsellors and helpers in the business of government. Then during the reign of Stephen the clergy had tried hard to lessen the horrors of that evil time, with the result that when law and order were restored their influence was greater than it had been before. Still, Henry's orderly mind was displeased by the division between Church and State which made the clergy subject to laws of their own which were not the same as the laws applied to laymen. Their punishments, in the eyes of laymen, were much less severe. For crimes which if committed by laymen were punished by death, 'clerks' as they were called were punished only by degradation and penances. Church courts claimed the right to judge all cases between clerks and laymen. Henry had made up his mind that such privileges interfered with justice, and diminished the authority of the temporal ruler. But he was also willing to wait for the old archbishop's death before setting about changes. And in the meantime he had chosen the man to succeed Theobald and to help him, as archbishop and head of the Church in England, to carry out his reforms. But he had wholly misjudged his man.

Becket.

By Theobald's advice, Henry had taken as his chancellor a cleric named Thomas Becket who soon became his most intimate companion and his right-hand man in conducting the business of the State; able, and as ready as Henry himself for hard work, popular, athletic, much more anxious—as it seemed—for worldly advancement than interested in the things of the Spirit. As chancellor he had shown no inclination to protect Church privileges. On Theobald's death Henry offered him the archbishopric. He warned the king that as archbishop he would take a view of his duties entirely different from Henry's; still Henry would not let him refuse the appointment. The chancellor became primate.

But with the Primacy, Becket assumed all the most rigid doctrines of the most fervent advocates of the authority of the Church. As a minister of the temporal power, he had striven by all means to strengthen the temporal power with a clear conscience. As spiritual head, conscience demanded that he should be no less strenuous in the cause of the Church's supremacy, and in asserting her privileges to the utmost. He cast aside his worldly manner of life; he starved himself and fed the poor lavishly. Having accepted his new part, he played it thoroughly. And playing it thoroughly meant fighting the king as Gregory had fought the emperor; also he would have against him the lay baronage, who resented the advantages the clergy enjoyed over the laity in all matters which came before the ecclesiastical courts.

3. Mitre *v.* Crown.

In 1163 matters came to a head. The archbishop declared that all cases in which any of the clergy were concerned must be tried in the Church courts before ecclesiastical judges and decided by ecclesiastical law; that none of the clergy were in any case 'amenable to the jurisdiction'—that is, subject to the authority—of a lay court. And the 'clergy' meant not only those who had been ordained to the ministry, but all those who were in minor orders, in any way engaged in services to the Church. This could not go on. There must be some agreement. Becket found that the whole of the laity and most of the bishops took the king's view, and he gave way so far as to say that the Church would give up such of its claims as were contrary to the ancient customs of the realm.

Then (1164) Henry drew up the Constitutions of Clarendon—the place where a Great Council was held to settle the matter. They laid down the limits between the authorities of the lay and the Church courts, but those limits deprived the Church courts of authority which they could fairly claim to be theirs by custom, at least since Lanfranc became archbishop. The king wanted the Church courts to deal with 'criminous clerks' first according to ecclesiastical law, and then to pass them on to the lay courts to be dealt with according to the secular law—which had not been done in the past. As to the rest, Henry claimed quite correctly that without his leave none of his subjects might be excommunicated, none of the higher clergy might go abroad, no appeal might be made to the Pope; and that the lands of the Church were held from the king by feudal tenure.

Constitutions of Clarendon.

Becket got from Pope Alexander a 'dispensation' from the promise which he clearly did not mean to keep. Henry lost his temper, and made accusations against Becket about money matters during his chancellorship which had already been settled. Becket professed and perhaps believed that his life was in danger, and escaped out of the country to Burgundy—out of Henry's reach; whence he issued denunciations of Henry, and of every one, especially among the clergy, who supported him. But in England Henry was master of the situation.

Murder of Becket.

Then Henry blundered. He wanted his eldest son, Henry the younger, to be king after him, and he had the young man crowned by the archbishop of York. No one but the archbishop of Canterbury had a right to crown the king of England; the thing was a defiance of Church laws and rights. The Pope threatened the king with excommunication, which would be a general invitation for his friends to desert him and for his enemies to set upon him. Louis of France offered to mediate between the quarrelling parties, with the result that a general reconciliation was patched up. Bygones were to be bygones, and Becket was to return to England. But nothing else was settled.

Henry went to Bayeux in Normandy. Becket returned from his exile, and had hardly landed in England when he suspended or excommunicated the bishops who had taken part in the coronation. The news was carried to Henry and drove him into a mad frenzy of rage. Around him there were men who hated the archbishop. They took the wild words uttered by the frantic king as warrant enough for them to act upon. A few hours later, the four miscreants were in England, hurrying to Canterbury. They burst into Canterbury Cathedral with drawn swords, and slew the archbishop there in God's House. . . .

Effect of the murder.

In the eyes of all men, Becket died a martyr. Three years later, he was formally enrolled among the Church's saints. By his death he had won a victory which had he lived would hardly have been his. Every one knew that Henry had spoken the fatal words in a fit of ungovernable passion, scarcely knowing what he said; but he had spoken them. He could not escape the responsibility. Of the sincerity of his repentance, his horror at the crime, there is no doubt at all. And the penalty he paid was humiliation and submission. The clergy retained for more than three hundred and fifty years the right to be tried in their own courts and to suffer only the penalties which those courts imposed. And yet the victory was not so complete as it seemed. Except in this single matter of the clergy and the Church courts, everything for which the Crown had contended remained to it.

Both sides, in the controversy, magnified the surrender for different reasons, and made light of what had not been yielded. But, as the practical outcome, matters stood as they had been in the days of the Conqueror and Henry I.

4. Ireland.

Henry II. never wished to quarrel with the Pope—or with the clergy, half of whom were on his side in the Becket controversy. He had been on the best of terms with Alexander's predecessor, Adrian IV.—the only Englishman who ever occupied the Papal throne. Soon after his accession he had considered the idea of conquering Ireland if he should find leisure for the task; and like William when he set about conquering England, he had been careful to secure the Pope's approval beforehand. It was easily gained, because Ireland was heretical—the clergy there did not acknowledge the papal authority—and also because it was not recognised by Europe as an established State, being very nearly cut off from the rest of the civilised world.

Both William I. and William II. had thought of the enterprise, but neither had taken it in hand. Nor did Henry. But an accident gave him the chance of annexing it to the English crown without an actual conquest; and he took it.

Dermot of Leinster.

At this time there were five kings in Ireland who, having no enemies outside the country to contend with, were given to quarrelling with each other. Dermot M'Murrough, king of Leinster, had a prolonged feud, all through the first years of Henry's reign, with Tiernay O'Rourke, the king of Meath, who by the help of Roderick O'Connor, high king of Connaught, at last turned him out of his kingdom. Dermot, seeking revenge, bethought him of getting the still more powerful aid of the king of England—who would be no worse as overlord than the king of Connaught. This was in 1166. Henry was in France, much taken up with the Becket quarrel in which both his own suzerain King Louis and the Pope (Alexander—Adrian had been dead for some years) were mixed up. But he was quite willing to give barons in England leave to take a hand in Irish affairs on condition of their remaining his liege subjects in Ireland as well as in England.

Strongbow.

In 1169 Dermot returned to Ireland with a small band of Normans and a troop of Welsh archers, against whom the ill-armed Irish could make no stand. Dermot got his kingdom back, but he wanted more; and this time he got the help of Richard de Clare, Earl of Pembroke (commonly called Strongbow), who was to marry his daughter and succeed to his kingdom as Henry's vassal. Strongbow married the princess, but Dermot died and his people would not acknowledge the heir from England. This was in 1171, some months after the murder of Becket; Henry wished to be out of the way, and went over to Ireland himself, instead of letting Strongbow collect some more adventurers to help him to a kingdom of his own—he was to be satisfied with the earldom of Leinster, which quite contented him.

So Henry sailed to Ireland with a strong force. The Irish chiefs saw no use in attempting resistance. The Irish clergy had no strong objection to submitting themselves to the papal authority, and preferred the prospect of a strong government (in which they were unhappily disappointed) to the ceaseless feuds of the chiefs. So most of the chiefs, including the high king himself, did homage to Henry and voluntarily became his vassals—doubtless taking it for granted that he would not trouble to interfere much with their doings. In which they were not far wrong.

For what Henry did was to appoint a justiciar or governor, Lacey whom he made earl of Meath, plant garrisons at Dublin, Wexford, and Waterford—old Danish settlements—and then leave the country to take care of itself, under such control as Lacey could exercise; which extended over no more than a small part of what is now Leinster, with Dublin as its centre. Beyond the Pale as this region was called, Norman barons planted themselves, and before long were adopting Irish customs; even translating some of their Norman names into Irish—like FitzUrse, 'son of the bear,' which became M'Mahon. Some of the names which we think of as particularly Irish to-day are either the actual Norman names, like Fitzgerald, or corruptions of them, like Burke from De Burgh. And within the Pale the law was English law; beyond it the old Irish customs called the Brehon law were followed as before.

The Pale.

Thus the kings of England added to their titles that of 'Lord of Ireland.' None called himself 'king' of Ireland till Henry VIII. in the sixteenth century.

NOT only did Henry make himself, almost by accident, Lord of Ireland; he was also one of the three kings of England to whom a king of Scots did quite certainly pay homage or fealty for the Scottish crown. And that too was through an accident, as we shall presently see. The first—for we cannot count the Saxon kings whom Scots kings 'owned for father and lord'—was Rufus, who

5. England and Scotland.

helped the first of Malcolm Canmore's sons, Edgar, to recover the crown, which was seized by his uncle Donalbane when Malcolm died. The other brothers who followed him on the throne, Alexander I. and David I., paid no homage, except for lands in England. David's grandson Malcolm IV., who had just become king when Henry came to England, followed their example; so did his brother William the Lion when he came to the throne in 1165. But ten years later, William held his crown as Henry's vassal. And it fell out in this way.

Henry was a very able king; but he mismanaged the bringing up of his sons. In 1170 he had four; the eldest, Henry, was sixteen, Richard and Geoffrey not much younger; John, the last, was a child of four. Before John's birth Henry meant to divide his dominions among the other three, and their portions were settled. When John was born the three elder brothers began to suspect that they would be robbed of some of their inheritance for the benefit of this interloper.

Capture of William the Lion.

Then King Henry had Prince Henry crowned, and the prince thought it was high time to have the management of Normandy—which was to be the other part of his inheritance—put into his own hands. But the king, though he gave his son the title of duke, had no intention of giving up the control of any part of his dominions as long as he lived. There were barons, of course, who disliked King Henry's masterful rule; they led the princes on to quarrel with their father; the king of France encouraged the ill-feeling; so did Queen Eleanor, who was extremely clever but also extremely vindictive, and was no better friends with her second husband than she had been with her first. And so in 1173 the young princes were joined in open revolt, in the French dominions (where Aquitaine was Richard's portion).

Henry went to France, to bring his troublesome sons to order. Thereupon the discontented barons in England rose. William the Lion took the opportunity for a raid over the border, fell into the hands of a large English force near Alnwick, was taken prisoner, and was carried off to Normandy; where he was obliged to sign the treaty of Falaise (1174) owning Henry as his suzerain and promising to pay a heavy ransom.

Henry was completely victorious everywhere, and treated the princes and the barons who had risen against him with generosity. In 1175 the trouble was over—for the time. He had proved his power. It had been shaken for the moment by the murder of the archbishop, but not permanently weakened. His remorse had restored him to favour with the Church and won the pardon of the Pope; also, as men judged, the forgiveness of St. Thomas himself, for the triumph of Henry's arms had followed upon a penitential pilgrimage to the shrine of the martyr. He had no more difficulties with barons in England; but his sons brought increasing troubles upon him.

Rebel sons.

Louis VII. died in 1180 and was succeeded by Philip II., commonly called Philip Augustus; who was then only fifteen but was soon to show that in self-confidence, self-control, and cold-blooded craftiness he was the match of any man living. A year or two later Richard, ruling as duke of Aquitaine, was quarrelling with his elder brother Henry. Prince Henry was joined by the third brother Geoffrey, who was now in possession of Brittany, having married the heiress. When the king intervened, all the brothers turned on him. But in 1186 both young Henry and Geoffrey were dead. Richard was heir to the throne, and his father wanted him to give up Aquitaine to John.

Richard Cœur de Lion.

There would have been an immediate struggle between Richard and his father, had not the news that Jerusalem had been captured by Saladin (1187) made it imperative for all Christian princes to put aside their private quarrels and unite to redeem the Holy Land from the unbelievers. All were, or professed to be, eager to join in the sacred cause; nearly all took the Cross, pledging themselves to go on the Crusade. Richard and Henry made their peace; yet in a few months an angry quarrel broke out between the hot-headed duke and the cool-blooded young king of France. Again Henry intervened on his son's behalf, but the crafty Philip made Richard believe that he was being tricked by his father for John's benefit. Philip and Richard joined against Henry; Philip secretly drew young John into the league.

Then Henry broke down. He was only fifty-five, but for forty years he had been living at high pressure. He had worked himself out. His nerve went to pieces. This most vigorous and resourceful of kings fled helplessly before his gathering enemies. Worn out and lying on his death-bed he made abject submission; he would forgive everything; he would refuse nothing. But he wished to know who had joined the confederacy against him. They showed him the list, Richard, Philip —John. That killed him. Richard, as passionate in his remorse as he was stormy in his hates, hastened to fling himself at his dead father's side; when he came into the chamber, blood trickled from the nostrils of the corpse—the sign, as all men then believed, that upon him was the guilt of the dead king's murder.

6. Henry's rule.

HENRY'S work was done. He had taught the baronage once for all that law was better for every one, including themselves, than lawlessness—a lesson they had at last been beginning to learn for themselves in the lawless reign of Stephen. And by the way he had arranged matters, he had made it easier for the Crown to enforce the law and harder for rebellious barons to resist—though when a later king broke the law they were able to oppose his lawless will with success.

All through his reign Henry worked through his council—either the personal advisers whom he chose, or the Great Council of Magnates, or, for special reasons, the enlarged *Commune Concilium.* He, like the Conqueror before him, would have said that he was not bound to ask or to take their advice but summoned them only when he wished for their counsel. As a matter of fact he consulted them to make sure of their giving consent to his measures in a way which would leave them no chance of turning against him afterwards. But because he was in the habit of consulting them they learnt to think that they had a right to be consulted.

The forces.

Then there were two measures concerned with the fighting forces by which he strengthened the Crown. The clergy, in place of giving military service for their lands, had been allowed to pay *scutage,* 'shield money,' with which the king could hire soldiers instead. When Henry went off to the war in France, he allowed the barons also to pay scutage in place of service—it suited him much better, because the feudal levies were only bound to take the field for forty days; his hired troops would remain with the standard as long as they were paid. And often it suited the barons better, because it saved them from the need of always having troops ready to take the field. So that by degrees feudal levies grew smaller and the king's hired troops more numerous.

The other measure was called the 'Assize of Arms,' the point of which was that freemen, whether they held land or not, had to answer the summons to the shire-levy, and the exact arms they would have to bear was fixed according to the amount of their property. And the shire-levy was at the service of the king, not of the magnates.

Otherwise the reforms of Henry II. seem to have been for the most part the restoring or perfecting of what Henry I. had started. He continued his grandfather's practice of selecting as many as possible of the royal officers, from the sheriffs down, not from the magnates but from the lesser barons and minor clergy; men whose strongest interest was to serve the king faithfully and honestly, while as judges there was rarely a chance of their being biassed on one side or the other. Before the king's judges every one was sure of fair dealing.

Justice.

In the next place he completed the plan of sending 'itinerant' judges 'on circuit,' before whom all the more serious cases were brought after trial in the lower courts for sentence to be passed, or perhaps to appeal against their decisions. Also he appointed a small committee of the Curia Regis to deal with cases brought before the king's own court; and this committee afterwards came to be known as the 'Court of King's Bench': which was quite separate from the other committee, the 'Court of Exchequer,' which dealt with money matters that concerned the king.

And here we must notice two other changes. The 'Danegeld' disappeared, but its place was taken by a similar land-tax called 'carucage.' And at the very end of his reign Henry got the approval of the Great Council for an entirely new tax upon 'movables' (meaning any property other than land) to raise money for the great Crusade; and therefore this tax was called the Saladin Tithe.

Revenue.

III. Richard Cœur de Lion: 1189-1199.

Richard on Crusade—England under Justiciars—Hubert Walter.

Richard I., *Cœur de Lion*, the Lion Heart, is a very picturesque person, and was a very striking figure in his own day; but he made very little difference in the history of England, or of Scotland except for one thing; he set William the Lion free from all that had been promised at Falaise, and so for another hundred years no Scots king paid homage for his crown to the king of England. And this Richard did because he wanted all the money he could get to furnish forth his expedition to the Holy Land; and so he sold back to William the rights which he had given up when he was Henry's prisoner.

1. Richard the Crusader.

Richard did nothing for England, because, in all the ten years during which he was king, he was in the country for only six months—four at the beginning and two in the middle. England to him was only a land from which he could get money and soldiers for crusading or for wars in France. It was only to get money and soldiers that he visited it—as for the government he left that to his justiciars. Fortunately they were generally wise men who were well supported by the barons, and carried on the work of Henry II.

No one disputed his succession to the whole of his father's possessions. Aquitaine he already had. His younger brother John had no claims. His baby nephew Arthur was count of Brittany, but it was taken for granted—since he was only a baby—that Richard as duke of Normandy was his overlord. Richard's succession to the throne of England was also taken for granted. The only risk was that John might make trouble in his absence.

The Third Crusade.

So Richard came to England as soon as he had settled with King Philip that both of them were to start on the Crusade next year. He raised money recklessly, selling everything he could sell—his suzerainty over Scotland, the office of justiciar, charters to towns which were willing to pay for rights of self-government, offices of all sorts; he turned sheriffs out of their sheriffdoms or 'shrievalties' to make way for men who would pay him for the appointment.

In December (1189) he went off to France to complete his arrangements. In September (1190) he and Philip had got as far as Sicily. Meanwhile Barbarossa, leading one great force of Crusaders overland, had met his death in Asia Minor, by an accident; his force went to pieces and his son Henry VI. was now emperor. Henry was claiming the throne of Sicily, but Richard chose to support another candidate, Tancred, who was able to secure the crown though only for a time; but the whole business set up enmity between Richard and Henry. A fresh quarrel between Philip and Richard was patched up. Philip went on to join the other Crusaders who were assembling in Palestine; Richard stopped on the way to conquer Cyprus, and did not reach the Holy Land till next June (1191).

Failure of the Crusade.

In Palestine he made fresh enemies. There was no one there who could be compared with him either as a general or in hand-to-hand fighting; but the other princes and nobles were jealous, and his violence and arrogance made them hate him. They were already split into two factions, over the question of the succession to the crown of Jerusalem; and Richard's presence made them still more disunited when union was the one and only chance of victory over Saladin; though, mainly through Richard's military skill, they captured Acre which they were besieging when he arrived.

Richard remained in Palestine for a little more than a year; but Philip had gone back to France before three months were over, there to plot against his mighty feudatory—against whom he had carefully fomented ill-feeling among the crusaders in every possible way. Other crusaders too, including Leopold, duke of Austria, who had a particularly violent quarrel with Richard, found pressing reasons for going home. Richard was left as commander of the crusading forces, but their numbers were so much reduced that he found the reconquest of Palestine a sheer impossibility, in spite of various amazing feats of arms. In September 1192 he made a truce with Saladin. Only Acre and some other fortresses remained in the hands of the Christian 'king of Jerusalem': the great Third Crusade had failed.

Then Richard started for home. On his way he had to pass through the territory of Leopold of Austria. Travelling almost alone, he fell into the hands of the duke's servants, and by him was handed over to the emperor, who kept him in prison for more than a year. Nor did Henry release him till Richard had done homage to him for England as a fief of the empire, and the country had paid a huge ransom for its king—though nothing more was heard of English vassalage to the empire. It was only in March 1194 that Richard suddenly reappeared in England.

2. Longchamp.

When Richard went to France at the end of 1189 he left as joint justiciars his chancellor William Longchamp and the bishop of Durham. He had generously endowed his brother John with lordships both in France and England, and had frankly made friends with the barons who had stood loyally by his father. In fact he was wise enough to know the men who were really to be trusted, but reckless or generous enough to shut his eyes to the evil character of John and others.

Longchamp was loyal enough; but he got all the power into his own hands and set about using it tyrannically. Richard was wise enough to listen to the protests from England of the loyal barons who were determined to uphold the law against the justiciar but did not wish to resist the royal authority; while John on the other hand was intriguing to gain popularity for himself by posing as the people's champion against Longchamp. So in the second year 1191, when Richard was in Palestine, Longchamp was displaced by a new justiciar appointed by the king himself—Walter of Coutances, who governed firmly and according to law. John, finding he had no hopes in that quarter turned to plotting with Philip who as we saw had just come back to France.

Richard's return.

We need not go into the plots which went on all through 1192 and 1193 while Richard was either in Palestine or in his German prison. At first they came to nothing because no one would help either Philip or John to seize the lands of an absent crusader—all Europe had agreed that when a man was on crusade it was a crime to take advantage of his absence. Then the place of Walter of Coutances as justiciar was taken by Hubert Walter who had just become archbishop of Canterbury and had immense influence among the barons and the clergy. John and Philip tried in vain to bribe the Emperor Henry to keep his prisoner after the ransom was paid; and when they saw that was no use, John tried to raise a rebellion in a hurry before his brother could return. But when Richard arrived in person in March 1194 he found that the justiciar had the rebellion well in hand already and it collapsed at once.

Richard pardoned John, but he had no idea of forgiving Philip. He stayed in England only two months—collecting money in much the same way as before, though this time it was to prepare for war not in Palestine but in France. England was heavily taxed again, though it had only just managed with difficulty to provide his big ransom. For the next five years, Richard was in France, either fighting the French king, or working up alliances to fight him. When the Emperor Henry died suddenly, one of the two rivals who were each elected emperor was Otto of Brunswick (son of Henry the Lion of Saxony), Richard's nephew; and when Otto joined Richard's alliance against Philip, matters looked serious for the French king. But in 1199 Richard was attacking one of his own vassals when he was wounded by a bolt from a crossbow; the wound mortified, and in a few days Cœur de Lion was dead.

3. Hubert Walter.

DURING all this time the real ruler of England was Archbishop Hubert Walter, who was also justiciar till near the end of the reign—when he resigned that office in order that it might be held by a layman, Geoffrey FitzPeter, earl of Essex. Even then, however, he continued to be FitzPeter's adviser and guide.

There were two things that Richard wanted from his justiciar—that he should raise money, and should keep the country quiet. The first demand made the second more difficult; for it could only be done by heavy taxation and by straining every loyal claim the king could make under feudal law and custom. Still Hubert succeeded in doing both, and at the same time in preserving that respect for law which had been growing stronger in all ranks throughout the reign of Henry II.

Thus a great point had been gained when prelates and barons met a demand for military service in France by saying that the law did not require them to serve oversea, though it had not been the custom to refuse. From this time we shall notice that when barons join together to disobey a royal order, they nearly always do so on the ground that the order was contrary to the laws of the realm, which the king had no more right to break than any one else.

Representation.

But perhaps the thing of most importance which happened in this reign was a little change in the machinery of local government which prepared the way for what are called 'representative' institutions. That is a word which comes into British history so much that it should be explained and understood once for all. When a government wants to find out what are the wishes of the people in a number of districts, it cannot call them all together—and if they were called, they could not come—so it has to bring together from each district a few people who are likely to know what the district wants. If the folk of the district themselves choose those who are to be summoned, then they will be people who truly 'represent' the wishes of the district. Representative institutions are those under which the people choose or *elect* their own representatives, the men who are to represent their wishes, instead of having them chosen or *appointed* by some one else.

What began now was the practice of letting the shire courts elect officers to carry out certain duties instead of leaving it to the sheriffs to appoint them. They had to be taken from one class, who owned a certain amount of land and were called 'knights of the shire.' But they were elected by the freemen of the shire, not appointed by the sheriff. And when once the electing of officers by the freemen had been started, it grew and extended, and prepared the way for electing representatives to attend the *Commune Concilium* when it was beginning to be known by the name of Parliament.

A comparison.

Hitherto there had been some 'elections,' but not elections of officers by the people. Thus the kings had been elected by the magnates, at any rate whenever it was uncertain which of two or more candidates was the most suitable person or the one with the best right to wear the crown. Also the clergy had the right of electing their own principal officers, the bishops and abbots, the 'chapter' of the diocese choosing its bishop, and the monks of the monastery choosing their abbot; but they had to elect some one of whom the king approved, which commonly meant that the king would only approve of a man whom he had chosen himself, so that at least in the more important cases the prelate was really not elected by the clergy but appointed by the king. Representative institutions could never have grown out of elections of this kind, but they did grow naturally out of the election of shire officials by the freemen of the shire.

IV. John: 1199-1216.

Loss of Normandy—The Papal Quarrel—John's Submission—Runnymede and the Barons' War—Magna Carta.

1. King John and Arthur.

When Richard died the barons of Normandy acknowledged his brother John as duke, and the Great Council in England elected him king. Aquitaine was still actually the possession of the old queen Eleanor, and as she chose that John should have it no one could dispute her will. But Brittany, Anjou, and Maine declared for young Arthur, count of Brittany, the son of Geoffrey, the brother who came between Richard and John. By the rules of succession which were afterwards established Arthur was really Richard's heir; but at that time the rule had not become fixed. We shall see nearly a hundred years later that there was the same doubt about the right of succession to the throne of Scotland. In John's case it was judged that the youngest brother was nearer akin to the eldest than the son of the second brother.

John claimed Anjou and the overlordship over the young count of Brittany. Arthur appealed to Philip II. as the suzerain, and Philip, who wanted to see the great Angevin dominion broken up, supported his claim and received homage from him for the three counties. However, he found that the allies whom Richard had drawn together might unite against him, so he gave way; Arthur was left with only the countship of Brittany. Philip however was on the watch for a chance; when John offered him one, he took it.

John already had a wife, the sister of the earl of Gloucester. He wanted instead to marry Isobel daughter of the count of Angoulême, in France, who was promised to Hugh of Lusignan, another powerful French noble. John got his first marriage annulled on the ground of consanguinity (just as Louis VII. had annulled his own marriage with Eleanor of Aquitaine, John's mother), and married Isobel, so making enemies of Hugh of Lusignan and all his friends in France, and of the House of Gloucester and all its connections in England. Meanwhile Richard's alliances had broken up, and Otto was too busy in Germany for Philip to be afraid of him.

King John and King Philip.

So in 1202 the king of France as suzerain summoned John as duke of Aquitaine to answer charges of breaking the feudal laws which had been brought against him by Lusignan. John ignored the summons; Philip condemned him as a 'recalcitrant' vassal who defied his suzerain authority, and went on to declare his lands forfeited and to confer them on Arthur of Brittany—except Normandy which he meant to keep for the French crown. At once a war began.

Still most of John's vassals, little as they liked him, were not inclined to rebel. John himself showed that when he chose he could perform astonishing feats of generalship. He captured Arthur—a boy of seventeen—and some leaders of his party; but he treated his prisoners with such brutality that his own supporters became ready to desert him on any decent excuse. Then Arthur disappeared; John spread a story that he had fallen from the battlements of the castle where he was held prisoner; but every one believed that the boy had in fact been murdered. That was never proved true, but if it had been untrue John could certainly have disproved it; he never did. Some people believed that Arthur's eyes had first been put out, but that was probably a mere invention. However, all the barons from England who had come to Normandy discovered that they were not legally bound to go on serving there. They went home. The barons of Normandy began to discover that Philip was their suzerain after all; one stronghold after another surrendered to the French king. John, almost deserted, went back to England. Before two years were passed, Philip was in possession of every duchy and county that had once been John's, outside of Aquitaine. In 1204 Guienne and Gascony were all that remained of what has been called the Angevin Empire; and they stood loyal to their duke chiefly because a suzerain in England was less likely to exercise control over them than a suzerain close at hand.

The loss of Normandy.

This loss of Normandy was a matter of great consequence both to England and France—and it was good for both. For England: it made the Norman barons in England think of themselves as Englishmen not Normans, because nearly all who till then had estates both in England and Normandy lost those in Normandy. It made kings of England think of their kingdom first and their fiefs in France second; for they were no longer, as Henry II. and Richard I. had been, the lords of bigger and richer lands on the Continent than in our island; thus it helped to make the whole people of England one, from top to bottom.

And in France it meant that at last the king had become more powerful than any three or four of his feudatories together. The forfeited provinces now belonged to the Crown, which before had no seaports at all under its own control. To its former estates had been added more than half the Angevin dominion. Philip had become far more powerful than any king of France before him, and even the greatest of the feudatories had ceased to be an independent prince, who only acknowledged his suzerain's authority when it suited him.

2. Wise Counsellors.

THROUGH these years the government of England had rested with the same justiciar and archbishop, FitzPeter and Hubert Walter, who stood between the king on one side, and the baronage and the Church on the other. With them was the stout old earl of Pembroke, William the Marshal, the head of the military forces, a man who all his life was unfailingly loyal both to king and law. They succeeded in satisfying the king's demands for money, and in persuading barons and clergy and people to submit to the increasing load of taxation which was still kept within lawful bounds—'taxation' here meaning generally claims for payment whether of taxes in the strict sense like carucage (the old Danegeld) or of feudal dues, and *scutages* in place of military service. The towns too prospered under their rule because many received charters for self-government, or enlargements of charters already granted, in return for payments.

But they were not, like Longchamp in Richard's reign, or Flambard in that of Rufus, merely tools to serve the king's needs. In 1205, when John summoned great levies to meet a threat of invasion by Philip, the armies gathered; but when John proposed to take them oversea to recover Normandy, the archbishop and the marshal took the lead in declaring that John's demand was against the law. The barons were not bound to serve, and had a right to refuse to do so for a purpose of which they disapproved.

Just at this time John brought fresh trouble on himself, though it was not all his own doing. The archbishop died. The king and some of the bishops wanted John de Grey, bishop of Lincoln, to succeed him. The 'Chapter' of Canterbury held that they had the right of free election; they elected another candidate secretly and sent him off to Rome to receive the archbishop's robe, the *pallium*, from Pope Innocent who alone could bestow it. Then the Grey party in the Chapter held another election, elected John de Grey and sent him to Rome at high speed. Clearly there was something irregular about these elections. Pope Innocent instead of deciding between the rivals, invited John to send him commissioners with authority to settle the question. But when the commissioners arrived Innocent urged them to set aside both the irregularly elected claimants and themselves to elect the man he chose himself—Stephen Langton; which they did—but of all the three elections the most irregular was this third one.

Quarrel with the Pope.

As a matter of fact no better choice could have been made; but it amounted practically to an admission of the Pope's right to appoint the Primate of the Church in England. John's wrath was quite justifiable; he would not accept Langton; unless the election were cancelled he would seize the revenues of Canterbury. Innocent refused; for he was bent on asserting the papal supremacy. John seized the revenues. Innocent threatened an 'Interdict,' which meant that the churches all over England would be closed, and it would be difficult for John's subjects to receive the sacraments. John replied that if any of the clergy obeyed the interdict their revenues would be seized. The interdict was issued (1207); the clergy obeyed it; the people were cut off from the usual religious services; John seized the revenues, and refused to give the clergy the protection of the law.

3. John's tyranny.

Yet there was no outbreak. It seemed that the interdict had failed. In 1209 Innocent struck again. He excommunicated John. Even excommunication failed. De Braose, one of the barons on the Welsh Marches, rose; attack was threatened from Wales and from Scotland. But when John roused himself he was much more than a match for any other general. De Braose had to fly, the Welsh to submit, and the Scots king to retire, though there was no zeal among John's supporters; he simply out-generalled all his opponents completely. But his success gave him a false impression of his own strength, or at least of the use to which he could put it. All the indignation roused by his former treatment of his prisoners in Normandy was revived by his brutality towards his prisoners now. Year after year he levied scutages for real or imaginary campaigns against rebels, and was thus able to collect a large hired army of mercenaries, who behaved after the fashion of the mercenaries in Stephen's reign. The temper of the barons and the people was rising.

John's submission.

In 1212 Innocent struck for the third time. He issued a Bull (so-called from the *bulla*, the Papal seal) or decree deposing John, and he invited Philip of France, as a faithful son of the Church, to carry out the decree—to remove John and make his own son Louis king of England. For a few months John stood defiant; then he was seized with panic, for he saw that there was hardly a baron on whose active aid he could count. The one thing he might have relied on was the fleet which he had created in the Channel, which so wrecked the French shipping that an invading force would have had a poor chance of reaching England. But he dared not trust even the sailors. Early in 1213 he made submission to the Pope, abject and complete.

Nearly all the higher clergy and many of the rest had fled from the country; all should be restored. The Church revenues which John had seized during the past five years should be paid back. Stephen Langton should take up his place as archbishop. Finally, he would surrender his kingdom to the Pope and receive it back as a papal fief, holding the crown as the Pope's vassal. Thus John completed the humiliation of the temporal power, and Innocent set the coping-stone on the supremacy he had been building up—for already five European princes had yielded to the papal claim and become his vassals. The Pope for his part welcomed the repentant prodigal son of the Church, became his Father and patron, and cancelled the Bull of deposition, while Archbishop Langton gave him absolution for his past disobedience.

A French War.

Philip, who had prepared to take the crown of England for his own at the Pope's invitation, had no mind to drop the project at the Pope's dictation—but the English sailors left him little chance, and his only hope was in having the baronage in England on his side.

If John would keep the coronation oath of governing according to the laws he would have the game in his own hands; and the new archbishop let him see that the Church and the barons stood together in making that demand upon him. But John saw also, what was perfectly true, that with the Pope at his back he had a great opportunity for striking at Philip, who had now become the disobedient son. He set about drawing together the old alliances against Philip; but the bulk of the baronage refused to serve oversea till they were sure that John would keep his promises at home.

John's plan was to strike for Anjou from Poitou which had been secured by his marriage. His allies were to strike at the same time from the east, helped by the small force from England which consented to serve. But John, without the English barons, could not strike hard enough in Anjou; Philip led his main force against the allies in the north-east, and won an overwhelming victory at Bouvines (1214), which utterly shattered John's schemes. He returned to England from Anjou, savagely angry, and thirsting for revenge upon the barons who had balked him.

4. The King and the Barons.

OF the three men who had stood between John and the baronage when his reign began, only one was left, William Marshal; for FitzPeter died in 1213. But John had rejoiced when he escaped from the restraining influence first of Walter and then of the justiciar. He had still to understand how much he owed to their mediation with the barons. Their place however was more than well filled by the new archbishop Stephen Langton.

John on his return forthwith demanded a heavy scutage for another campaign in France. But the time had come for the other side to make a stand. They had met repeated and excessive demands, but not without protests. Now they were determined that a limit should be set and kept. They refused to pay the scutage, since it was for oversea service; if they were not bound to serve, they could not be bound to pay instead of serving; besides, as they looked at it, scutage was only a payment which they were at liberty to make in place of service which they were otherwise bound to render—in such cases they were equally at liberty to give service instead of payment.

Demand for the Charter.

The claim to scutage brought matters to a head. If the king did not, after all his promises, mean for the future to govern according to the law, the barons would take matters into their own hands. There were no doubt many of them who only cared about the law when breaking the law meant overriding what they regarded as their own rights, and were ready enough to break it themselves when they could gain anything by doing so. But there were others who, guided by the wise archbishop, saw that the king was no more and no less bound to obey the law than they were themselves; they would be on sure ground only if they pledged themselves to keep the laws at the same time that they required the pledge from him, and to guard not only their own rights as against the king but also those of the people who could not stand up for themselves.

Therefore the barons came in arms to a Great Council early in 1215 and demanded that the king should confirm the Charter which Henry I. had issued when he became king. John did not mean to give way. Langton passed between the king and the barons, seeking to arrange terms; meanwhile John was collecting mercenaries. The barons' terms grew sterner. John flatly refused them. The barons formally renounced their allegiance to the suzerain who had broken his side of the feudal compact. John found that resistance was hopeless and at Runnymede, on 15th June 1215, he set his seal to *Magna Carta*, the Great Charter. What the Charter said and what it meant for England we shall see presently.

The Barons' War.

John submitted because for the moment he had no choice. But he did not mean to throw up the fight. He appealed to the Pope to absolve him, to set him free from a promise which had been wrung from him by force. Innocent not only absolved him, but condemned the Charter itself—he was John's own suzerain now, John was his obedient vassal, and resistance to John was a crime. Some of the barons were not satisfied with the Charter, and rose in arms to demand more: others were ready to fight for the Charter itself. The archbishop found he was not strong enough to resist the Pope, and the barons lost the support of the Church. The extreme party resolved to depose John and set the French prince Louis on the throne; Philip, anxious to avoid a quarrel with the Pope, secretly encouraged his son while publicly forbidding him to take action. By the end of the year a civil war had begun.

In the spring (1216) Louis landed. Half the baronage was uncertain whether to side with the king or with the rebels; some went with the king, because they did not want England to be joined to France. Then John was suddenly moved by one of his fits of tremendous energy. By the swiftness of his movements he split up the rebel forces. Decisive victory was within his grasp, when in October he was seized with a mortal illness which killed him in a few days; and forthwith the ever-loyal but now very old William Marshal proclaimed John's young son King Henry III.

5. Magna Carta.

THE Great Charter was meant to be a sort of treaty or agreement between the king and the barons; but a great deal grew out of it which neither barons nor king were thinking of at the time.

It had a great many clauses, which really dealt with three different subjects though they were not clearly separated. In the first place, it laid down certain principles. In the second place, it claimed certain rights or privileges as belonging by law to the barons and the Church. Thirdly, it tried to set up machinery by which the king should be compelled to keep his part of the bargain, that the principles and the privileges were to be maintained as the law of the land.

The third part never counted for much. The barons would have said that it was the only new thing in the Charter; all the rest was just a statement of the established laws. The new thing was that it appointed a committee or council of twenty-four barons, to whom was added the head man of the biggest borough in the country, the mayor of London, who should have the lawful right to levy arms against the king if he persisted in breaking the law.

The second part was of some importance at the time, and it also showed that what many if not most of the barons were thinking about was their own particular rights and privileges; for they said little about any rights of the churchmen, except that of 'free election,' and nothing about the particular rights of people who were not barons.

Its importance.

But the first part was of very great importance; for it declared that justice was not to be denied or delayed or sold to any man, that no man should be punished without fair trial, and that the punishment must not be more severe than the offence deserved. It declared that neither the king nor any other overlord had a right to exact from his tenants anything more than the dues which were generally recognised as having been established by long custom. It declared that no additional claims would be lawful except by consent of the Great Council (and we learn from it that it was already the rule that the greater barons were personally summoned to attend the Council by the king, and the lesser by a writ from the sheriff). And it implies, without saying it in so many words, that the people have a right to resist by force not the law but the government when it is quite certainly acting against the law.

But the most important thing of all is not to be found in any particular part of it, but in the whole; that no one, whether king or baron or prelate, however powerful he may be, has a right to override the law—that every one from the king at the top to the serf at the bottom must do nothing which the law forbids—that no man may be compelled by any one, whoever it may be, to do or to suffer what the law forbids him to do or to suffer. And that is why Magna Carta is rightly called the 'Charter of English Liberties.'

V. Henry III.: 1216-1272.

William Marshal and Hubert de Burgh—Poitevins and Savoyards—The Mad Parliament—Lewes, and Montfort's Parliament—Evesham, and Settlement.

1. John's character.

King John is a very striking instance of a man who possessed the very highest abilities and yet ruined everything he tried to do because he could not control a part of himself—the sort of wild beast that there is in most men, brutal animal instincts and passions which are kept under only by the habit of self-mastery. He was a consummate general; when he planned a campaign he would have been certain of victory if other people carried out their parts in it. But his character was so odious that his allies distrusted him and did not carry out his plans; while his subjects detested him and would not act at his bidding. Had he made the welfare of his people his aim, he might well have taken rank among our greatest rulers. Had he known how to keep his temper and manage men, he might have been the most powerful of tyrants; but no man can play the tyrant long unless he can keep faith with his friends however false he may be to others. John cared nothing for the welfare of his people, and the only people who were loyal to him were those who would not help him to play the tyrant. Consequently as a tyrant he was a failure, and as a king he was probably the worst who ever reigned in England—his only rival in that respect being Ethelred the Redeless.

Yet there is one thing, though only one, which will always stand to King John's credit. He saw, as Alfred had seen in the days of the Danish raids, that the security of England depended upon her mastery of the seas that lay between her and the European continent; and it was owing to him that the English Channel ports had in them the fleets which made it impossible for a large French force to reach our shores. If Alfred was the first founder of our navy, John was the second.

End of the Barons' War.

John's death probably saved the barons' party from crushing defeat though their forces were the greater. On the other hand, it cut from under them the real ground for rebellion, which was the need of freeing the country from John's personal rule. The new king was a child of nine; the leader of the royalists was the old Earl Marshal, who was no friend of tyranny; with him was the archbishop under whose advice the Charter had taken shape; and there could be no real enthusiasm for the cause of the French prince.

Still, for mixed reasons, the barons remained in arms although the marshal issued the Charter again in King Henry's name—leaving out however the clause about the Council's consent being required for new taxation. Some of them no doubt reckoned and hoped that a French king of England would have very little control over them; others felt that they were pledged to support him. But the heart had gone out of the rebellion. Louis and his French comrades were making themselves unpopular. Reinforcements coming from France were dispersed off Sandwich by the fleet from Dover, where the justiciar Hubert de Burgh was in command. Louis saw that his cause had become hopeless; no one wanted to go on fighting. Before John had been dead for a year the French had left the country, which settled down under the government of William Marshal as Protector, Hubert de Burgh the justiciar, and Peter des Roches, bishop of Winchester, in charge of the king.

Hubert de Burgh.

William Marshal died soon afterwards, and Hubert de Burgh managed the government much as Hubert Walter and Geoffrey FitzPeter had done in the past, though Peter des Roches tried to get control into his own hands. Perhaps the chief trouble was in getting rid of the captains of mercenaries whom John had collected, and quieting down the more troublesome barons who had resisted John not because they wanted good government but because they wished to be free from control themselves. For there were always these two parties among barons who joined against the king—those who were on the side of the law, and those who sought to escape the restraints of the law.

Then in 1227 King Henry was declared 'of age' to govern as king; and though he kept Hubert as justiciar, he soon began to give trouble. He had no wish to be a tyrant. But he liked to go his own way, and had an unlucky belief that he was very shrewd and determined, whereas he was really a simple-minded person, intensely obstinate, but very easily managed by wily flatterers, who knew how to persuade him that what they wanted him to do was just what he wanted to do himself.

Philip of France had died in 1223. Louis, who had tried to get the English crown, became king of France but died in 1225, leaving the crown to his little son Louis IX., and the task of governing as regent to his widow Blanche of Castile. So Henry thought he had a chance of getting back the possessions which John had lost. In spite of Hubert he made impossible demands on the French regent; she of course refused them; and he thereupon went to war.

2. Henry III. reigns.

The expedition (1230) was a failure; Henry understood generalship as little as he understood statesmanship. But he laid the blame on Hubert. When he returned to England the Pope Gregory IX., who was quarrelling already with the Emperor Frederick II., was making heavy demands on the English clergy for money, and annoying them by filling vacant bishoprics and abbacies with Italian priests, who were cheerfully accepted by the pious Henry—whose piety took the form of humble obedience to the Pope, though without doing homage for the crown of England. The Italians expected to get their revenues without coming to England to discharge their duties; their agents were treated with violence, and the justiciar was at no pains to protect them. Henry was indignant with him.

Peter des Roches saw his chance of upsetting Hubert and getting the king into his own hands. He brought charges of peculation—fraudulent use of the money collected for government—against Hubert, who was dismissed in disgrace though probably innocent of anything worse than carelessness. Perhaps his great enemy would have succeeded in getting him put to death, if some of the great barons—including the king's brother—had not stood surety for his good behaviour. Even as it was, he was kept a prisoner (though not a close one) for the rest of his life. In 1232 Peter was managing the king and the government.

The Poitevins.

Peter was himself a Frenchman from Poitou, a Poitevin. After John's death his queen, Isobel of Angoulême, went back to Poitou and married Hugh of Lusignan; so it was easy for Peter to surround Henry with Poitevins like himself who took care to win the king's favour and get into their own hands offices which should have been held by Englishmen. By this time very few of the barons in England had estates in France, and 'Englishmen' meant Normans as well as Saxons—the families had intermarried, and the old feeling that the Normans were conquerors ruling over conquered subjects had disappeared. So the foreigners became so unpopular that Henry soon had to dismiss them.

The Savoyards.

But it was only to bring in a new batch of foreigners. In 1236 Henry married Eleanor of Provence, who had seven needy uncles, brothers of the count of Savoy. (Provence, with Savoy as it then was, is the south-eastern part of France now, but was not at that time part of the French kingdom.) The marriage gave these uncles hopes of filling their pockets in England, which hopes were duly satisfied; moreover they brought with them many other needy adventurers, on the same quest. The best of them was the priest Boniface of Savoy who in 1241 was made archbishop of Canterbury.

And meanwhile Pope Gregory was going on with his exactions, Henry was yielding to all his demands, money was flowing out of England and especially out of the pockets of the clergy to Rome; and the leading churchmen, with Bishop Grossetête of Lincoln at their head, had much ado to keep up the authority of the Church among the laity on one side, and a tolerable freedom for themselves from papal interference on the other.

The opposition.

Of course the great barons expected to hold the highest offices of the State and they resented the favours poured upon the Savoyards, though they could hardly prove that this was in any way against the law. Still it all made them ready to oppose the Savoyards, and the king too if they could find a decent excuse. At this time the leader of the baronial opposition was Henry's younger brother Richard, earl of Cornwall, and as long as he was in that position there was no chance of his heading anything like a rebellion. But Richard was separated from the barons' party altogether when (after going off on a particularly futile crusade) he married the younger sister of Henry's Provençal queen in 1242.

But meanwhile another foreigner was rising into prominence—Simon de Montfort. The Montforts were barons of Normandy not of England; Simon's father had also been count of Toulouse, and had through his mother a claim to the earldom of Leicester, which passed on to his younger son Simon. His rights were admitted, but for a long time he was looked upon as one of the interloping foreigners who came to England to enrich themselves at her expense. All the more when he married the king's sister Eleanor (the Eleanors are almost as confusing as the kings who were called 'the Lion,' the Henries, and the Huberts and Walters who were justiciars in England), to the great annoyance of her brother Richard. Nevertheless it was Simon who was destined to be the next champion of English liberties.

3. Reforms demanded.

Henry in 1242 made another expedition to France, was more thoroughly beaten than before, and lost Poitou finally, as well as part of Aquitaine. The war got him heavily into debt; there was no opening for demanding money; so he summoned a Great Council in 1244 to ask it for a grant. The Great Council answered by demanding reforms in the government. Not foreigners but Englishmen must have at least the great offices of justiciar, chancellor, and treasurer, so that there might be an end of the extravagant wasting of the royal revenues. This meant practically that the management should be handed over by the king to the Great Council. The king would not give up his control, so the Council would only grant him a fraction of the money he asked. More Poitevins came over from Poitou (sons of Henry's mother by her second marriage, and others), and till 1255 things went on much as before.

Now the Emperor Frederick II. was dead. There was still a struggle going on—though it was very nearly finished—to keep the crowns of the empire and of Sicily for the last of the Hohenstaufen. The Pope wanted a king of Sicily who should be his own vassal. So he offered the crown to Edmund, the younger son of his most loyal servant Henry of England. The crown wanted winning, but England could do the work and pay the expenses.

The Mad Parliament.

Henry was willing: his subjects were not. The last batch of Poitevins had absorbed the hostility of the barons, with whom the Savoyards were now ready to make common cause against the Poitevin aliens. Barons and clergy alike objected to having their services and their money employed on a business by which no one would profit but the Pope. They did not like to be made use of as cats'-paws. Neither money nor services were forthcoming at the king's orders, and in desperation he summoned in 1258 a Great Council which is known as the Mad Parliament.

With the Mad Parliament we have shifted a long way from the position as it was when the barons forced King John to seal the Charter. Then they had combined to compel a tyrant to pledge himself to keep what they held to be the established laws of the realm. Now the main purpose of one section—of which Montfort had become the leader by sheer force of character—was to have the working of the government put into the hands of men who would manage it for the good of the whole people, instead of greedy adventurers who as aliens cared nothing for the people. Another section wanted mainly to get it into their own hands for their own ends. Both wanted to manufacture a new constitution, in place of the old one which might have been called the rule of the monarch by consent of the barons as guardians of the law. It was to be the rule of the barons in the name of the king.

The Mad Parliament drew up a scheme known as the Provisions of Oxford which the king was obliged to accept. It was not a good scheme. It placed the whole control in the hands of two committees or groups, composed entirely of the greater barons. For that reason, Montfort himself disliked it. But it cleared out the Poitevins, bag and baggage. Montfort's ideas were shown in the decrees called the Provisions of Westminster (1259) which were intended to guard freeholders against the lords who were trying to usurp powers over them to which the law gave them no right. This was the work of Montfort's party among the barons, which at this time was backed by 'the Lord Edward,' the king's eldest son. But it was not at all to the liking of the other party who wanted to usurp all the powers they could get; among whom were most of the barons of the Welsh Marches, the 'Marchers.' And though Edward sided with Montfort on such matters, he meant to restore the king's authority if he could, not Montfort's.

The Provisions of Oxford.

HENRY saw that the baronage was far from being united, and that he might bring over one faction to his own side—those who were angry because they found Montfort becoming the real master. In 1261 he easily obtained from the Pope a dispensation from the oath he had taken to observe the Provisions of Oxford. War was on the point of breaking out when an agreement was made to refer the dispute between king and barons to the arbitration of Louis IX., the king of France.

4. The Mise of Amiens.

Louis was a great man, more through his noble character than his talents. His piety won him the name of Saint Louis; but his true title to fame is in his single-eyed and unflinching devotion to justice whether to his own gain or his own loss. Every man had learnt that Louis was to be trusted absolutely to do what he believed to be right, whether it was to his own advantage or not; and because all men had learnt to trust him, he had made France for the time the most powerful and united state in Europe; while quarrels between people who were not his subjects at all were brought to him to decide.

Louis decided in favour of the king. He knew that in France the welfare of the country depended upon the king's power of controlling his feudatories; the barons of England were claiming the right to control the king. There could be no doubt about his judgment—it is known as the Mise of Amiens—which he gave in 1264.

Battle of Lewes.

Neither party in England had ever intended to accept a decision in favour of the other, though each had hoped to gain strength from his verdict. Montfort declared that even if he stood alone he would fight to his last breath for the Cause of whose righteousness he had fully convinced himself. He had inspired his followers with his own zeal; if the royalists were now more numerous they had no commander who could match him in generalship. At the battle of Lewes, he won a complete victory. Henry and Richard of Cornwall were his prisoners; both their sons surrendered themselves the next day as hostages for the good behaviour of the defeated party.

A new compact was made called the Mise of Lewes. But Montfort found that he had been tricked; the arrangement if carried out would give the control not to the victors but to the vanquished. He rejected it and proposed a new scheme to a Great Council. He and the young earl of Gloucester, with the bishop of Chichester—both were his adherents—were to appoint a council of nine to direct affairs. Six of them in agreement could take what action they chose, with or without the king's consent. Of course that meant that Montfort would be the Dictator, ruler of the kingdom.

Montfort and his Parliament.

In fact Earl Simon intended to be dictator at least for the time. A strong single-minded ruler with the good of the country at heart was apparently the only alternative to a government made helpless by factions. Cromwell acted in much the same way four hundred years later. Neither, probably, meant to make himself dictator; both did it, because there seemed to each to be no other way of saving the country. And each meant even then to rule by consent of parliament, to have parliament's approval of what they did—if they could get one which would back them up.

Montfort had plenty of enemies; but he wanted his parliament and got it, in 1265. Though the name of Parliament had been given to some of the Great Councils already, this is sometimes called the First Parliament, because it was the first in which boroughs were represented. Since John's day, when a Great Council was called, 'knights of the shire,' two or three or four from each, had begun to be elected by the freemen instead of by choice of the sheriff. Simon chose some boroughs where he was sure of support, and bade them also to elect two burgesses apiece and send them up to his parliament. The importance of this parliament lies not in what it did—which was nothing—but in its starting the representation of boroughs in the National Assembly.

5. Evesham.

But Simon's own party was already breaking up. His sons, whom he unwisely placed in positions of authority, were misbehaving. Gilbert of Gloucester did not like his domineering dictatorship. The Crown Prince Edward, though under guard as a hostage, had been gaining friends. Trouble was brewing on the Welsh

Marches. Thither went Montfort, taking with him both the king and the prince, and reckoning upon support from the Welsh under Llewelyn of Gwynedd, whom he had acknowledged as Prince of all Wales which was not yet counted as a part of England.

But when Edward escaped from his guard and joined Montfort's enemy, the Marcher baron Roger Mortimer, Montfort found himself in a trap. The royalists were up all round him. The forces with him were small. His one chance was to slip through a gap in the circle of foes and join forces with his sons who were coming up on the east.

He almost succeeded. But Edward had been his pupil in war as well as in politics. On 4th August, Montfort found himself facing Roger Mortimer's army at Evesham, Gloucester's army approaching to support it, and a third force which he took to be what it should have been—his son's—coming from Kenilworth. Then he discovered his mistake. It was not Simon the Younger but Edward who had fallen upon him by night, shattered his army, and was now marching against Simon himself.

There was no escape, and against such overwhelming odds no shadow of a chance of victory—or of mercy from the victors. Not one of the greater barons was by his side. But if his followers, knights and squires and free Englishmen, were few, they were devoted, ready to die for him and with him. Like Harold's huscarles the stubborn ring stood and fought and fell round the earl's banner, and with them stood and fought and fell the earl himself.

So passed 'Earl Simon the righteous' leaving in ruins, as it seemed, the cause for which he died. But he left it to one who with better skill, better fortune, and more wisdom, but with no higher purpose, was able to build upon the foundations he had laid, the man who had shattered his forces and taken his life, Edward I.

The Lord Edward.

Edward in fact—as later events proved—did actually want very much what Simon wanted; but with this very important difference. He was going to be king himself; Simon was a baron with no personal right to supreme authority. Simon saw in his own dictatorship the only hope of getting the needed reforms. Edward objected to the dictatorship of any baron, and meant to carry out the reforms himself as king. Edward overthrew Simon, because Simon's success would have put a baron in what ought to be the king's place.

But from that moment it was Edward, the future king, who took the king's place—a very different thing. Though Henry reigned for nearly seven years more, he in fact resigned the control of the government to his son, whom the barons had no excuse for opposing. After Montfort's personal following had been crushed, there was no quarrel between Edward and Gloucester's party among the baronage, who had deserted Simon not because of his aims but because of his methods. The Provisions of Westminster were confirmed by the Statute of Marlborough; but all the plans for handing over the king's powers to committees of barons vanished, since the grievances which had brought them into existence disappeared. Edward was not the man to encourage papal pretensions or foreign influences in the country of which he was already king in fact. By 1270, peace and order had been so thoroughly restored that he was able to go off on a crusade without any fear of fresh trouble breaking out in his absence. He was still on crusade when Henry died in 1272.

A misconception.

We are inclined to think of the reign of Henry III. as the time of 'the Barons' Wars'; but as a matter of fact there was open warfare in England during two years only—1264 and 1266; in each of those two years there was only a single campaign, and each campaign was decided by a single battle; the first at Lewes and the second at Evesham. The only other fighting in the country—for there was no Scots war—was the finishing off, in 1217, of the other 'barons' war' which was in progress when John died. So that really, in all the fifty-six years' reign, there was little fighting except during a few months in three years. During more than fifty years there was peace, though war often threatened. Hence, though the government was weak and extravagant, the constitutional struggle interfered little with the general progress and prosperity. The land was reaping the fruits of Henry II.'s establishment of law and order.

VI. Ireland, Wales, and Scotland: 1200-1270.

Ireland and Wales—Scotland.

We may turn now to the other parts of the British Islands—Ireland, Wales, and Scotland.

I. Ireland.

Of Ireland there is little to be told since the time when Henry II. received the homage of the native chiefs and allowed the Norman barons to establish themselves as his vassals in the Pale and beyond it. John before he became king of England had paid it a visit, in the course of which he insulted some of the Irish chiefs, making it still harder than before to bring them under the control of the justiciar at Dublin. Rather late in his reign he paid it another visit which improved matters for a time; as he prepared to set up the English law over a wider area, and to bring the Norman barons more under obedience to the justiciar. But his plans broke down, because of his quarrel with the barons in England; where after his death no one from Henry III. onwards troubled himself about the state of Ireland.

Wales.

Of Wales, however, there is more to be said. We may remind ourselves that in Wales as in Ireland there was not a single kingdom but a number of principalities—the princes were not even called kings—of which some were from time to time subject to others, while the princes were expected to pay some sort of homage and tribute to the king of England. Further than that the subjection of Wales had not gone. Rufus had tried his hand at conquest but had failed—finding his Norman horsemen useless among the mountains. No other king had even attempted it.

But the Norman barons along the Welsh border, from Chester to the Severn estuary, were engaged in constant warfare with the Welsh. By the time of Henry II. they had pushed the border line well to the west of Offa's Dyke into South Wales, and the Clares had even set themselves up in Pembroke, of which Richard de Clare, the 'Strongbow' who went to Ireland, had been granted the earldom. In North Wales there were two big principalities, Powys (next to the Marches) and Gwynedd on the west of it, which included the Snowdon district. The pressure of the Marchers on the south had broken up South Wales under a number of small chiefs who still called themselves princes.

The Llewelyns.

At last however, in the reign of John, there was a prince of Gwynedd, Llewelyn the son of Jorwerth, who in his lifetime came near to uniting all Wales. When John—who had stopped him from getting possession of Powys—was deeply involved in his struggle with the barons, Llewelyn had become the acknowledged leader of the Welsh princes. In the early years of Henry III., the attitude he chose to adopt was that of a feudatory of the English Crown, determined (in conjunction with the Marchers) to resist all encroachments upon baronial rights. With the Marchers it suited him to keep on friendly terms. Before his death in 1240 it seemed likely that Wales would actually become united under him.

The old dissensions however broke out again when he died. His grandson Llewelyn ap Gryffydd succeeded in making himself prince of

Gwynedd in 1254 and revived the policy of union, but in the meantime more lands had been taken from North Wales, and placed under the English form of government. The Welsh were ready to follow any one who would lead their resistance, and in three years Llewelyn was practically Prince of all Wales. In the final barons' war he was in alliance with Montfort, but gave him little aid, and soon afterwards made his peace with the victors—biding his time to make a fresh effort to shake off the English suzerainty.

2. Scotland.

In Scotland the fifty years' reign of William the Lion ended two years before the death of John. He had the curious experience of losing to one king of England such independence as his brother and grandfather had claimed, and of recovering it from another. The son who succeeded him, Alexander II., had already done homage for his English earldom of Huntingdon and sided with the barons of England in their strife with John, but paid no homage for his crown.

William the Lion.

The features of William's reign which it is important to note in Scottish history are three. First, the bestowal of Scottish estates upon barons of England continued. Secondly, before the end of his reign William had established such friendly relations with the Papacy that the Church in Scotland was assured of its independence of the Church in England. Scotland had no primate like the archbishop of Canterbury; the English archbishops of York and Canterbury had tried to bring the Scottish Church under their own supremacy, an attempt which the Scottish churchmen had always resisted. Now the independence was assured, but only so long as the king of England was not also king of Scotland. Therefore we shall presently find that when the independence of the Scottish kingdom was in question, the Scottish clergy were always the most zealous opponents of the English claims, and the most ardent supporters of the champions of independence.

The third point to note is that all the islands on the west, the Hebrides, now formed the Lordship of the Isles, the lords being of the House of Somerled, of descent half Gael and half Norse; who professed a very uncertain allegiance sometimes to the Crown of Scotland but more commonly to that of Norway. The extreme north of Scotland as well as the Orkneys also acknowledged the king of Norway, and their populations were very much more Norse than Gaelic.

Alexander II. ruled thirty-five years—as did his son Alexander III.

as well as Henry I. and Henry II. in England. In his reign there were the beginnings of an alliance with France, always viewed with extreme suspicion by the kings of England. Again we find English barons securing estates in Scotland—three of them married the three heiresses of Alan of Galloway (part of Strathclyde) where hitherto the Gaelic language and customs had more than held their own against Anglicising influences. Alexander was on his way to force the Hebrides into subjection when he died in 1249.

Alexander II.

Alexander III. was a child; for a time the rule fell into the hands of factions, one of which, headed by the Norman Durwards and Bruces, sought and obtained the support of Henry III., so that the other party headed by the Norman Comyns were hostile to English influences. Young Alexander managed to avoid paying homage for his crown to Henry III., who took no active steps to arrest English sovereignty; and Alexander married one of his daughters. The king's rule after he came of age was vigorous and Scotland prospered greatly under it.

Alexander III.

The great event was a conflict in 1263 with Hakon of Norway. Hakon came with a great fleet to compel Alexander to recognise his sovereignty over the north and the Isles; but his fleet was wrecked by a storm and the troops that came to land were cut to pieces at the battle of Largs. By a treaty three years later, Hakon's son and successor Eric ceded all his claims, retaining only the Orkneys; and the Lords of the Isles were obliged to acknowledge the sovereignty of the king of Scots though the authority he was able to exercise over them was the slightest possible.

Alexander, who was almost the same age as the English Crown Prince Edward, his brother-in-law, was still in the full vigour of his reign when Henry III. died.

VII. Merrie England: 1154-1272.

Lords, Villeins, and Freeholders—Administration of Justice—Growth of Trade—Boroughs and Gilds-Merchant—Jews and Lombards—Wages and Rents—Barons and Knights—Some Ideals.

A LITTLE more than a hundred years passed between the accession of Henry II. in 1154 and that of Edward I. in 1272. In that century England became the 'Merrie England' of the old ballads, the country in which there was less oppression of the weak by the strong, more people were contentedly prosperous and felt that

1. England.

life was an enjoyable thing, than in any other land in Europe. And that came about chiefly because in the first place the reign of law was established and made secure, and in the second the people who had authority to enforce the law generally intended to be just.

Lords, villeins, and freemen.

Thus while it was true that the majority of the population were serfs 'bound to the soil,' the serf as well as the freeman was protected by the law. His lord protected him as well as the free tenant or freeholder from wrong at the hands of any one else. He was not secure from oppression by his lord, because to a great extent the lord was himself the judge as to what he could lawfully demand from the serf and usually decided doubtful points in his own favour. But the average lord did not deliberately do what he knew to be unjust or seek to exact from the serf, 'villein,' more, in the form either of service or of payment, than he could bear, or more than he believed himself to be lawfully entitled to claim. The freeholder had greater security, because the lord to whom he owed service or payment for his land was not also the judge. Between lord and free tenant the judge was the shire court, where the sheriff might be inclined to favour the lord as against the tenant, but would get into trouble if he became known as an unjust judge. And complaints against an unjust sheriff were pretty sure to reach the ears of the king's justices on circuit.

And justice was generally administered on the principles laid down in Magna Carta. If any one was accused of crime he got a fair trial, justice was not refused or delayed, and for most offences the punishments did not seem to people in those times excessive, though we might call them barbarous now.

2. Justice.

A 'FAIR TRIAL' was not exactly what we should call fair; it was not necessary to prove by direct evidence that a man was guilty of the particular crime of which he was accused—really, if a suspected person could not prove his innocence he was condemned as guilty if he bore a bad character in the neighbourhood; but that was counted fair by public opinion; it gave all the security which any one asked or expected, and it meant that sooner or later punishment was likely to fall upon men whose character was bad enough for them to be readily suspected of law-breaking.

And even when he was condemned, the suspected man had another chance; he could demand the 'ordeal,' which most men looked upon as an appeal to the judgment of God. There were several forms of ordeal, which had been practised before the Norman conquest; the

Normans brought in a new one—ordeal by combat. The accused person could challenge the accuser (or his champion, some one he chose to fight for him) to single combat, the idea being that 'God would defend the right' and the innocent man would win. (Any one who has read *Ivanhoe* will remember how Ivanhoe as Rebecca's champion met the Templar.) It was the wisest of the churchmen who tried to put a stop to this, seeing that as a matter of fact it was the better fighter, not the better man, who won nine times out of ten. But public opinion believed in the test and considered it fair.

Trial by Jury.

Trial by jury had not yet began, though old writers used to tell us that it was started by King Alfred. What we mean by a jury is a body of twelve men who know nothing beforehand about the case which is to be tried, but have to listen to the evidence and give their verdict, their true word, whether in their judgment he is innocent or guilty. There were 'juries' in those days, but their business was different. They were a sort of board, made up of 'lawful men,' men of good repute, in each district, who were supposed to know the characters of the inhabitants, and from what they did know decided whether a suspected person was to be sent up for the king's judges to pronounce sentence on him as guilty. His security for fair play lay in his right to bring forward 'compurgators,' men of good repute who were ready to swear from their knowledge of him that he was most unlikely to have committed the crime charged against him. Nobody yet knows exactly how or when it was that juries in our sense, which were certainly working in the fifteenth century but not in the thirteenth, came into being.

The King's Court.

What we have to notice especially, however, is the lines along which the administration of justice had moved. Broadly speaking, before the conquest the courts of justice were the popular or people's courts of the moot of the township, hundred, or shire, besides the king's own court for special cases. Under the Normans, the popular courts became the lords' courts and the sheriffs' courts, a change which was probably beginning earlier. But Henry I. began to limit the powers which the lords and sheriffs were usurping, by bringing them under the supervision not of the king's court itself but of commissions of judges, the Itinerant Justices or Justices in Eyre, sent out on circuit from the king's court; a plan which was carried out much more thoroughly—after it had gone to wreck under Stephen—by Henry II. And because it was always in the interest of the king to prevent the power of the barons from increasing and to have himself the goodwill of the smaller folk, the royal justices were always rather protectors of the smaller folk against injustice at the hands of lords and sheriffs who belonged to the baronial class.

3. Town growth.

THE time of the early Plantagenets was also the time of the growth of towns and especially of the boroughs—the nearest thing in England to the Free Cities on the Continent. Commerce or trade more than anything else created the town, the town attracted and increased commerce, and so the two grew together.

We saw that towns were beginning to appear in the Saxon times, it might be because a particular village took in more land and so became bigger, or because two or more villages became joined together, at spots which were naturally convenient as meeting places, or where there were monasteries or shrines which attracted pilgrims, or '*burhs*' where for military purposes defences had been raised and armed forces or garrisons were kept. Sometimes a town was fortified and made a burh because it was already a place of importance; sometimes a burh grew into a town because people came to live there for the sake of security.

Market towns.

The more a place grew, the more anxious its people were to exchange the things of which they had more than they wanted themselves for things of which they wanted more than they had. Towns which were conveniently placed for traffic set up markets, so that people from the country round and sometimes quite at a distance knew that at such a town on such a day there would be numbers of folk with goods to exchange. The place made an extra gain for itself out of its market, besides exchanging its own goods for those of which it was in want, because it was worth while for people from outside, foreigners—every one was a foreigner who did not belong to your own village or town—to pay for admission to come in to the market and buy or sell. These charges were tolls or market dues. When the Normans came, the lord of the manor or manors of which the town was made up claimed the tolls as belonging to him, just as he claimed that the land belonged to him and the townsfolk were his tenants.

Crafts multiply.

Meanwhile, as the town grew, there was another change going on in it. Even in single villages it had long been found worth while to leave some particular kind of work for one man to do—the smith, the wheelwright, the miller—instead of every man doing everything for himself. The bigger the town grew, the greater became the number of 'crafts' or trades which were left to particular persons to practise for the benefit of the whole township and their own gain. And the more a craft became 'specialised' as the work only of men who were specially skilled in it, the more people came to the places where the skilled craftsmen were to be found to do the work which they wanted done.

When the Normans came, there came also an increase of English trade with foreigners from over the sea. The English had been satisfied with the rough goods they could produce at home; the Normans wanted better goods which could only be obtained from abroad. The English produced more than they needed themselves of 'raw materials' such as wool and hides which had not been manufactured into cloth and leather, but they had not troubled to go abroad in search of customers to buy these goods. Now the foreign traders discovered that if they brought their manufactured goods to England they would be bought for the Normans, while they could themselves buy the English raw materials, of better quality and at a lower price than they could get them elsewhere. Before the conquest, there had been so little trade that London was the only port to which many traders from oversea had found it worth while to come; and that was one reason why London was already so much the biggest town in the kingdom that it had been granted rights of self-government of its own.

4. Chartered boroughs.

Now when Henry II. restored order and law and security of life and property after the robbery and violence of Stephen's reign, and men could travel from place to place in safety again, the towns grew apace and more traders came over the sea. And the growing towns were anxious to be rid of their lords' power over them, and of the power of the sheriffs who had as much control over them as over any village; and they began to buy freedom from the lords, and to get charters of freedom from the king, like London. So many of them had been *burhs* that a town to which a royal charter had been granted was generally called a borough. In the next reigns, very many charters were bought from Richard who wanted all the money he could get, and from John who also hoped that with the charters he could buy the good-will of the towns, to set against the ill-will of the barons. And this went on through the reign of Henry III., so that before the end of it Montfort was calling to his parliament elected burgesses as well as elected knights of the shire; since London was zealous on his side, and probably most big towns.

Corporation and gild-merchant.

The charters were not all of one fixed pattern; the privileges the different towns wanted were not always quite the same—but generally London was the model. What they all wanted was to be separated from the shire court and the sheriff and to have their own law-courts, to choose their own officers for managing the town's affairs, and to have authority to make and enforce rules and regulations about trade in the town—besides getting rid of the lords' rights over them which a royal charter could not take away. The main thing therefore that the charters gave was the right to choose from among themselves (the free burgesses) a 'corporation' of governors, and a 'gild-merchant' to regulate the trade (every one who did any sort of trading was called a merchant); and members of all trades were in the gild-merchant. A little later, we shall find each of the separate crafts with a 'craft-gild' of its own, making its own regulations; but at first the one gild-merchant made them for every one. They fixed prices, they fixed wages and hours, they punished bad work and dishonest dealing—and they looked upon the 'foreigner' from a rival town as a person who ought to be made to pay heavily for the privilege of trading with them.

Silver.

And here we may notice one other point. All through the time of the first Plantagenets, barter—the exchange of goods for goods—was giving place to the exchange of goods for silver—gold was still rare. And still large sums were paid not in coins but in amounts measured by weight. Silver was becoming the 'medium of exchange.'

Merchants and craftsmen.

All this time the merchant himself was a 'craftsman.' The modern shopkeeper is usually a person who buys goods wholesale—in big quantities—from the maker and sells them retail—in small quantities—to the 'consumers,' the people who want to use them. In the thirteenth century the merchant sold goods which had been made either by himself, or by his journeymen (the workmen to whom he paid wages), or by his apprentices (the lads who were being trained under him to practise his craft). Most journeymen and apprentices intended some day to set up as merchants on their own account somewhere, and the merchant himself had been an apprentice first. Where there was a gild-merchant, no one could set up for himself without obeying its rules, but that did not prevent him from starting elsewhere, and to do so cost little; thus at this time there was no sharp distinction of class-interests between the master and the journeyman who looked forward to being a master himself.

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EVERY craftsman, master or apprentice or journeyman, worked with tools—there was no machinery driven by anything but the workman's own hands; the master had very few men working for him, and the merchant did not require a great store of money. If traders wanted big sums, which rarely happened, it was not easy for them to borrow. The people who did want large sums at a time were princes and nobles who had to equip large or small bands of fighting men and to pay their troops.

5. Borrowing.

In modern times if a man needs money he hires it; that is, he borrows it and pays it back, but also pays the hire-money which is called 'interest,' in return for the use of it until it is paid back. But in the old times it was considered wrong to take hire-money for lending. The man who lent money and received interest for it was called a usurer, and the Church counted it sinful for a Christian man to practise usury. But people did not care about lending their money—if they had it to lend—to any one except personal friends unless they could make something by it; so that it was difficult to get any one to lend at all.

Yet when kings and nobles went to war or on crusade, they needed at once big sums of money, more than they had stored up or could get immediately from feudal dues or taxes. They had to borrow. Though Christians were forbidden to practise usury, there was a race of people scattered over Europe who were not Christians, and who—like modern Christians—saw no difference between lending money and lending anything else their neighbours wanted, for hire. Money-lending had become their business—trading in money, not in goods—and they had it to themselves.

The Jews.

Christians generally hated the Jews as a people on whom the curse of Heaven was laid for having crucified the Redeemer. Still they were given leave to live in most lands under the protection of the princes, because it was necessary to have some one from whom money could be borrowed, even if they would only lend it at heavy interest. Thus the Jews, having been for centuries the only money-lenders, gathered much wealth; though they still remained a people apart from the rest, hated by them, and subjected by them to much oppression which was often very brutal. But to kings like Richard and John who were always in want of money they were very useful.

During the thirteenth century however the great merchants in the free cities of Italy, the Lombards, were also beginning to lend money on usury to princes. Of this we shall hear more in the next century, when the increase of commerce was making it necessary for merchants as well as nobles to borrow large sums. As yet neither the Jews nor the Italians made much difference to the English people, though the Jews were useful to their rulers.

6. The Peasantry: Services.

The position of the peasantry had changed since the conquest. In the time of Henry II. it is certain that the majority were serfs, who could neither leave their plots of land without their lords' consent, nor be turned out against their own will so long as they rendered the customary services or payments. Being serfs, they had no share in the courts of the freemen. A man was not necessarily a villein because he held his land from a lord on condition of service on the lord's land; many freemen had to render such services. But there were some particularly irksome conditions which applied only to villeins, though not always even to them; the customs varied in different places. Still there were things which any freeman could do if he chose, but a villein could not do without his lord's leave. The villein who left his lord's manor could be forced to return to it; the freeman could not. The villein as a rule could not give his daughter in marriage, or buy or sell a horse, without his lord's permission; the freeman could. Besides services, however, there were usually some payments in kind which had to be made; and the habit of making money payments instead of doing service—a fixed rent which could not be raised—had been growing, since it often suited the lord and the tenant alike; and it seems that at this time it was generally—though not always—taken for granted that a man who paid was a freeholder, not a villein. The custom however went on growing till there were certainly great numbers of villeins who were paying rent instead of rendering service. Also, as money was becoming more and more the medium of exchange, so rents were more and more being paid in money instead of in kind.

Rents.

With rent-paying came wage-paying. Somebody had to do, on the lord's land, the work which was no longer done by the rent-paying tenant. The lord could not compel any tenant to do more than the customary amount: therefore, out of his rents, he paid men to do the extra work; men with very small holdings or no holdings at all, who were glad to get paid work. Paid labour increased as rent-paying increased; and besides the lords, tenants with large holdings, villeins as well as freeholders, began to employ paid labour. The labourers however were all bound to the soil; if they

Wages.

had small allotments they held them from the lord, in villeinage; if they had none they were landless men; a landless man who was not in some one's service was practically an outlaw which made it necessary for him to be somebody's man; and besides that, as he was very nearly always the son of a villein, he was born in villeinage to his father's lord.

Still there was a large proportion of freeholders among the peasantry, larger in the eastern counties and what had been the Danelagh than in the west where there had always been a larger number of unfree men because, no doubt, many more Britons had remained more or less enslaved to the English in the west than in the east. Only free tenants, not villeins, could be called up for service in the shire levies, just as they, not the villeins, had the right of attending the shire court. Although there was hardly any difference between the life of a freeman and a villein holding the same amount of land—and many villeins had more land than many freemen—they were a quite distinct class; for they were free, and the villeins were unfree.

7. The Lords.

The Lord of the Manor was the person from whom the tenants within that manor held their land, whether as villeins or as freeholders. The tenants took what was produced on their own holdings, but part of the land was the lord's 'demesne' of which he took the produce, though the farmwork on it was done either by the tenants' 'services' or by paid labourers when services had been 'commuted' for rent. After the conquest many single manors remained in the hands of the Englishmen who now held them from the king by feudal tenure as tenants-in-chief, the king's men or barons.

Earls.

But more had been bestowed upon Normans, some of whom held scores or even hundreds of manors. These were the big powerful barons, each of whom was an important man, a magnate. To the biggest of them was given the English title of earl which in the lawyers' Latin was translated as *comes*, from which come the words count, county, and countess. The earls were never called counts in England, though their wives are still called countesses. The earls took their titles from the shire where their estates lay, and so the shire came to be called a county.

Greater Barons.

There were several big barons besides the earls, especially along the Welsh Marches and in the northern counties which were within reach of raids from Scotland. All of them were Normans, but there were also plenty of Normans who had a manor or two, either as tenants-in-chief or holding them from the bigger barons. As the bigger estates were generally divided among the sons instead of all going to the eldest, the number of lords who held only a manor or two increased, and the families of the Norman and English lords intermarried, so that by the thirteenth century, though the biggest barons still kept apart, the distinction between Norman and English had almost disappeared among the lesser baronage. And then, thanks to John's loss of Normandy and the dislike of Henry III.'s aliens, they all became English together.

Knights.

Now, besides barons, we have been hearing about knights and 'knights of the shire.' Properly speaking, a knight was a man who held a 'knight's fee'—so much land that he was required to render knight's service in full armour for man and horse. Also a man might 'win his spurs' and receive knighthood as an honour for prowess in battle; which every young man desired to do without waiting to inherit the land which would make him 'take up his knighthood' as a matter of course on his father's death. Thus a man might be a knight without being a tenant-in-chief, and he might be a tenant-in-chief without being a knight; and the elected knights of the shire were supposed to be knights, but—later on at least—might never have taken up their knighthood at all.

Admission to knighthood was accompanied by a religious ceremony and the taking of vows to act in knightly fashion according to the laws of honour and chivalry. Valour, courtesy, and loyalty were the virtues especially required of a knight—held in high esteem, and practised by knights worthy of the name—and perhaps the thirteenth century was the time when knighthood was at its best, as it had been at its worst, in England at least, in the days of William Rufus and Stephen.

Manor houses.

But there is one idea from which we must free ourselves; and that is that the upper classes lived in stone castles and went round the country in armour riding rough-shod over every one weaker than themselves. Except on the Scottish Border and the Welsh Marches, where they were required for defence against incursions, castles were few, after Henry II. levelled those raised in Stephen's reign. The lords of the manors—nearly all the gentry and most of the nobles—lived in the manor houses which were mostly built of wood. A lord who had manors in different districts would live sometimes in one, sometimes in another, taking most of his household with him. But over most of the country the king's Peace put a stop to private wars, and a man was safe in his own house, in no danger of attack from a turbulent neighbour, though it was not safe to travel unarmed through woodland country where outlaws might lurk in ambush—as we might guess from the tales of Robin Hood and his merry men.

8. Chivalry.

We can see what a real advance was made during the period by looking at the changing ideals of knighthood. In the days of the four Norman kings, men were not ashamed to model themselves after William Rufus and his kind, brutal and merciless tyrants who knew of no Right except Might; whose sole virtues were reckless courage and skill in arms. In the second half of the twelfth century, a much higher ideal was found in the type of which Cœur de Lion was the grand example, the type which added to reckless daring a lavish generosity, a magnificent courtesy, and a love of desperate adventure. And then in the next century, these began to be controlled by the resolve to protect the weak against oppression by the strong, the over-mastering sense of justice and the devotion to duty which we see in Earl Simon 'the Righteous,' and of which the most perfect example is the French king St. Louis.

Of course the men who rose to the highest standard were few, but because their own standard was so high they raised it for all men, for the ordinary freeman as well as for the knight. We can see the same spirit in the true tale of the sturdy smith who stoutly refused to forge fetters for the fallen Hubert de Burgh because he had saved England from the foreigners in the sea-fight off Sandwich. And something of it we can see also in the legends of Robin Hood and his gallant outlaws who, if they held the laws in scorn, still used their lawlessness to protect the defenceless.

The Church and the Friars.

So it was also with the Church. A Becket was no great improvement on a Lanfranc, still less on an Anselm; but Stephen Langton and Bishop Grossetête of Lincoln belong to the new order no less than Montfort or St. Louis. Moreover, the true spirit of Christianity received a new impulse from the new 'Mendicant' or begging orders of the Franciscan or Grey Friars and the Dominicans or Black Friars, founded abroad by St. Francis of Assisi and St. Dominic. These friars appeared in England when Hubert de Burgh was still justiciar.

The friars differed from the old monastic orders in this, that monks sought the seclusion of the cloister to live the religious life apart from the world and cut off from its temptations; whereas the friars sought to live as Christ and His apostles had lived, teaching and preaching and healing, among the poor, giving their services, living on charity, seeking their own salvation through the salvation of others.

Nor did these friars neglect the pursuit of knowledge and learning. Some of them became the most famous of the 'schoolmen,' whose chief studies were Theology and those sciences of the mind which are commonly included in the term Philosophy. But others also began to discover the secrets of physical science (a kind of inquiry which the Church generally discouraged, because it was thought that men were not intended to know these things); and of these the greatest by far was the English Franciscan friar Roger Bacon; who so excelled all others not only in his own day but for a very long time afterwards that many men call him the founder of modern science.

CHRONOLOGY

1154-1272.

England.		Scotland, Ireland, and Europe.	
(Kings of England, on their accession, are printed in Capitals.)		(Scottish and Irish events are printed in *Italics.*)	
1154-89.	HENRY II., Plantagenet.	1152-90.	Frederick I., Barbarossa, emperor.
1159.	Scutage.		
1161-70.	Becket, archbishop.		
1164.	Constitutions of Clarendon.	1165-1214.	*William the Lion, king of Scots.*
1166.	Assize of Clarendon.	1169.	*Strongbow in Ireland.*
1170.	Murder of Becket.		
1171.	Henry II. 'Lord of Ireland.'	1172.	*Ireland annexed to England.*
1174.	Treaty of Falaise.	1179-1223.	Philip II.. king of France.
1188.	The Saladin tithe.	1187.	Saladin takes Jerusalem.
1189-99.	RICHARD I., Cœur de Lion.	1189-92.	Third Crusade.
1189.	Treaty of Falaise annulled.		
1194-98.	Hubert Walter, justiciar.	1198-1216.	Innocent III., Pope.
1199-1216.	JOHN.		
1204.	Loss of Normandy.	1200-26.	St. Francis of Assisi.
1205-13.	Quarrel with the Papacy.	1214.	Battle of Bouvines,

1215.	Magna Carta.	1214-49.	*Alexander II., king of Scots.*
1216-72.	HENRY III.	1215-50.	Frederick II., emperor.
1220.	Coming of the friars.	1223-26.	Louis VIII., king of France.
1220-32.	Hubert de Burgh.	1226-70.	Louis IX., king of France.
1258.	The Mad Parliament.	1249-86.	*Alexander III., king of Scots.*
1264.	Battle of Lewes.	1266.	Charles of Anjou, king of the Sicilies.
1265.	Montfort's Parliament.	1263.	*Norwegians defeated at Largs.*
1266.	Battle of Evesham.	1268.	End of Hohenstaufen.

EARLY PLANTAGENET LAWS AND ORDINANCES

Scutage introduced, 1159. The barons are permitted to pay scutage or shield-money instead of serving or bringing their vassals to serve in the king's wars. The king is thus enabled to hire troops in place of the feudal levy.

The **Constitutions of Clarendon**, 1164. The clergy are to be tried in the king's courts on criminal charges. No cleric is to leave the country without the king's consent. The clergy are to hold their land as lay-barons.

Assize of Clarendon in 1166 regulates the system of 'travelling justices.' Supplemented by the Assize of Northampton in 1176.

Assize of Arms, 1181, regulates the summoning of the shire-levies or fyrd and the arms to be carried at the muster, according to each man's property.

Magna Charta, 1215: (i) Only the recognised feudal dues to be collected by the king; (ii) additional taxes to be levied only by consent of the Great Council; (iii) justice is not to be delayed, denied, nor sold; (iv) no man is to suffer imprisonment or punishment without trial by his peers.

The **Provisions of Oxford** (1258) placed the government of the country in the hands of two Baronial Councils.

The **Mise of Amiens** (1264) was the award of Louis IX. of France, giving judgment in favour of Henry III. in his dispute with the barons.

The **Mise of Lewes** (1264) was the agreement between Henry III. and the barons after the battle of Lewes, appointing a Council to the realm. It was followed by the calling of Simon de Montfort's Parliament in 1265,

THE GREAT COUNCIL AND THE KING'S COUNCIL

The Saxon National Council, the Witenagemot, continued under the Norman kings, but with the Latin names of **Magnum Concilium** (Great Council) or **Commune Concilium** (Common or General Council). Neither its powers nor its composition were strictly laid down by law. It was in the first place a body which the king would consult when some important question required to be settled or some change was intended; the king on his part would feel that he could not safely take his measures till he was sure that the greater barons and prelates would consent to them, while the barons and prelates would feel that they had a right to resist if such things were done without consulting them. After Henry II. the barons always claim that the king cannot lawfully make changes of importance without consent of the Great Council.

Usually it was only these 'magnates' who were called to attend the *Great* Council. But occasionally it would be useful to know what other people would think about these measures, and so for special purposes a few of the lesser barons from the shires were summoned to attend, since they would not come of their own free will. Apparently it was on these special occasions that the assembly was called the *Common* Council. Late in the thirteenth century, the Common Council became 'parliament,' and after a time the magnates who had formed the Great Council—the 'Peers'—sat in one chamber and the rest of the Council, the 'Commons,' in another.

Whenever there was a doubt about the succession to the throne, the Witenagemot had made the election. Thus Knut and Harold were both elected; William the Conqueror got himself elected by the witan before his coronation, so did Henry I. and Stephen; and in later centuries, parliament claimed from time to time that it had the ancient right of election possessed by the Witenagemot.

In this way then the first parliaments at the end of Henry III.'s reign had grown up out of the Magnum Concilium and Commune Concilium, which were themselves supposed to be the old witan summoned for ordinary or special purposes respectively.

But there was another Council, known at first as the **Curia Regis** or King's Court, out of which grew not parliament, but (1) the Royal Courts of Justice, (2) the Exchequer or Treasury, (3) the Privy Council or Royal Council.

This was in the first place simply the group of confidential advisers and 'ministers' or officers chosen by the king to conduct the business of government. The king was the judge to whom appeal could be made if injustice was done in the shire or manorial courts of justice; therefore he appointed men learned in the law to act either in his place or as his advisers in dealing with such questions, judges in the Royal Courts of Justice. The sheriffs collected his revenues, but he needed skilled persons to check their accounts and control the expenditure; hence came the Treasury and Exchequer, whose head, the Chancellor, is usually the king's chief minister. Both for the Courts and the Treasury, he employs not the big barons but men who are expert in the law and in money matters, very often clergy. But he needs also commanders for his armies of which he is himself commander-in-chief. These, the Constable and Marshal, are as a matter of course big barons. And he needs other private advisers besides these men who are 'specialists' in law and finance—probably, though not necessarily, big barons or bishops; whom he will also naturally appoint to other offices of state. These all together become his councillors, the Royal Council, the Private or *Privy* Council. It is easy to see that these councillors exercised a great deal of power; and most of the trouble in the reign of Henry III. arose from the fact that Henry chose for his councillors foreigners and favourites who were not fit to exercise that power instead of taking them from the English magnates who might reasonably claim that they had—among them—a right to the principal voice in advising the king, and to the principal offices. In the view of the barons, the king cannot be trusted to choose his own Council, and the point is reached when they demand that the choice shall be placed in their own hands instead of in his.

TRIAL BY JURY

Nothing at all like Trial by Jury had existed when Henry II. came to the throne; but we are coming very near it before the accession of Edward I. There had been plenty of 'juries' before—twelve men or more who were under oath to speak truly. But it had not been their business to listen to evidence and give their verdict on it; they gave the evidence themselves. Thus when Domesday Book was compiled, a 'jury' in each district—men who knew the facts about the lands—had to give under oath the information wanted by the king's commissioners. This jury of 'inquisition' (*i.e.* inquiry) seems to have been a Norman institution. But there were earlier English juries of *compurgators*—lawful men who could be trusted—who were called upon to swear that an accused person's denial of the accusation was true. It would seem, too, that much of the business of the shire-moot which was also the shire law-court was done by a committee of twelve members, though they were not a 'jury.'

Now these practices among them seem to have suggested the step which was taken by Henry II. There were offences which ought to be tried by the king's officers, but would never be brought to trial if the thing was left to the action of private persons; so the districts were required to 'present for trial' persons who were under suspicion of crime. A number of selected persons were responsible for this. It was not their business to say whether a person was innocent or guilty, but only that there were sufficient grounds for putting him on his trial. Then, if he was not cleared by 'compurgation,' he underwent the Ordeal which was an appeal to the judgment of God. So far, we have only got a 'jury of presentment' who neither condemn nor acquit the accused person—that is left to compurgation or the Ordeal.

Then in 1215 the 'Lateran Council' of the Church, in Rome, forbade the Ordeal; though that did not altogether and at once put an end to the practice, something had to take its place. This brings us to the 'inquest of neighbours'; the accused person will not be acquitted (though he cannot be condemned) and will be kept in prison until he chooses to submit himself to this inquest. The 'neighbours' are twelve lawful men of the district who are supposed among them to know the facts already; they give their joint verdict without calling other witnesses. Still their verdict is not final—the man they condemn can retort by charging them with perjury, giving false evidence contrary to their oath; and their verdict may then be set aside. That is where we seem to stand in the time of Edward I. We have not reached 'trial by jury' as we understand it, though it is not far off. That particular 'birthright of the English people' was not 'bequeathed to us by our Saxon ancestors'; it was a slow creation of the Plantagenets, not completed till the fourteenth century.

CHAPTER V

THE ENGLISH AND SCOTTISH NATIONS: 1272-1330.

I. Europe: 1272-1330.

Italy—Germany and the Empire—The Making of France—
Philip IV. and his Sons.

A VOLUME of European history closes with the fall of the Hohenstaufen and the Great Interregnum, which was brought to an end by the election of Rudolf of Hapsburg as emperor in 1273. At the same moment a new chapter in British history opens with the accession to the English throne of Edward I. in 1272. The idea of the emperor as supreme head of Christendom had disappeared. The idea of the Pope as its supreme head was on the point of disappearing. The greatest monarch in Europe was not the emperor but the king of France, and a king of France was to strike the blow which shattered the papal pretensions. It was the power of France which was soon to be challenged by the power of England, because each of those two countries, alone in Christendom, had become a united nation. France then, in the survey of the next period which opens this chapter, will demand most of our attention; but we must turn first to Italy, and to the empire.

1. A new era.

The north of Italy was by this time wholly lost to the empire, except in name. The Venetian Republic ruled the Adriatic, and its only maritime rival in the Mediterranean was the Republic of Genoa. Florence dominated the cities of Tuscany, Milan those of Lombardy; and all were torn by factions which still called themselves Guelph and Ghibelline, though little of the old meaning remained in the names.

Italy.

Charles of Anjou had secured the crown of the Sicilies in 1266, being already lord of Provence, since he had married the daughter and heiress of the last count. He was an able ruler, but in the island of Sicily the people resented the French lords and the French garrisons he had set up there. In 1282 there was a sudden rising and a terrible massacre of the French which is known as the Sicilian Vespers because the sound of the vesper bell was the signal for the insurrection. Charles would have crushed the rebels without mercy but they had already offered the crown to the king of Aragon (on the east of Spain) who was connected by marriage with their old Norman dynasty. His fleets drove off those of Charles, and an Aragonese dynasty was established in Sicily. South Italy, the other half of the Sicilian kingdom, was kept by the Angevins as the kingdom of Naples.

The Papacy.

The Papacy had reached the height of its power under Innocent III. The popes who followed him had been little less powerful, and they had actively encouraged the good work of the friars. But at the time we have reached, the self-sacrificing fervour of that movement was passing away. There came also a series of less vigorous popes, generally old men, none of whom lived long; and then one, Boniface VIII., who tried to assert the papal authority over the kings of France and England—with what disastrous results to himself we shall very soon see. One consequence was that for seventy years the popes lived at Avignon in Provence instead of in Rome, and so lost control of their Italian territories. Thus Italy from end to end was broken into fragments; all real hope of her becoming united vanished; and in fragments she remained till the middle of the nineteenth century.

2. Germany.

THERE were great Italians who longed in vain for Italian unity, but the chances of German unity were hardly better. It was only when the mightiest of her princes was at the head of the empire that an emperor could enforce his authority. The princes had made up their minds that they did not want an emperor who could enforce his authority; they broke away from the practice of electing the son in succession to the father—no one denied that they had the lawful right of electing whom they would—and for a century and a half emperors were chosen now from one family and now from another. Every emperor tried to keep the succession in his family, while the six electoral princes (who came to bear the title of Elector) were hardly less anxious to prevent any great House from becoming supreme.

There are some points however which should be noted here, because their importance came out later. The Emperor Rudolf was chosen chiefly because the Hapsburg estates which lay in south-west Germany—Swabia—were small. But he very much increased the power of his family at the expense not of the German princes but of the king of Bohemia, whose kingdom lay for the most part outside the empire. From him Rudolf took some provinces including the duchy of Austria; thus in later times the Hapsburgs were known also as the House of Austria.

The second point is that nearly every emperor followed the policy of strengthening the commercial cities and freeing them from the control of princes and overlords; and in consequence the free cities of Germany, especially those which had ports on the North Sea and the Baltic, became wealthy and powerful, and rivals, in a way, of the free cities of Italy. These great cities made agreements with each other and gradually formed for trading purposes a sort of league, known as the Hansa or the Hanseatic League, which was playing a growing part all through the fourteenth century and a dominating part in the fifteenth.

3. France.

THE great position which France had won at the end of the reign of our Henry III. was the work of Philip II. and his grandson Louis IX. Philip had made the crown supreme in France as Henry II. had made it supreme in England. Half the Angevin dominion in France had become under him the possessions not of a great feudatory but of the king; the barons who had been the vassals of Plantagenets were the immediate vassals of the king of France. Henry III. made attempts to recover some of these possessions, but they failed; what remained to him even of Aquitaine was only Guienne and Gascony. There were still a few big feudatories—the counts of Brittany, of Flanders, of Champagne, and the duke of Burgundy, as well as the duke of Aquitaine; but the royal possessions were bigger than those of them all put together.

Louis VIII. in his short reign had made a mistake, though it hardly seemed so till long afterwards, so that it was imitated by later English kings. He began the practice of dividing the royal domain among members of the royal family, since the whole was too large for one man to keep under proper control and government. This created a new Greater Baronage of the blood royal. It was intended to increase the power of the royal family, as it was taken for granted that they would hold together to keep up the supremacy of the royal house. As a fact, it did no harm at the time; but afterwards it prepared the way for factions and jealous antagonisms between branches of the family, while princes of the blood were more dangerous leaders of opposition to a king or a regent than other dukes or counts.

Philip had made the crown so strong that when Louis VIII. died and his widow Blanche of Castile became régent for the boy Louis IX., she was able to defeat the nobles who thought they could defy her. Then when the young king grew up he set about putting the government of the whole country into shape, somewhat as Henry II. had done in England. He could not control his brothers in their provinces, or the greatest of the other nobles, as any strong king in England could control his feudatories—they were much more masters in their own territories than any barons in England—but he was able to shape the government in his own provinces and to set checks on the others. And his brothers ruled their dukedoms and counties very much after his model.

Louis IX.

Here we may notice a point which may confuse our minds if we are not careful. In England the name of Parliament was given to the Great Council which was on the way to forming a real National Assembly. In France the same name, *Parlement*, was used for a council which was concerned with government, but was not a National Assembly at all, a council of professional lawyers which had great authority but no power either to make laws or to manage administration. When we hear that something was decided by the *parlement*, we must not think of it as being anything like the parliament of England. Its business was to declare the law, not to make it or to change it.

The most remarkable thing however about Louis IX. was not so much what he did as what he was—a man who, like our own Alfred, set before all men a noble ideal of private virtue and public devotion to duty and justice, whose deep religious feeling was untainted by the sentimental pietism which is often mistaken—though it never ought to be—for genuine piety. He taught men that it is possible for a strong man to be a saint and to gain strength thereby instead of losing it. And it was this that made all Europe honour him as it honoured no one else, and bound his people together under him, so that the English chronicler Matthew Paris called him *Rex Regum*, the king of kings.

LOUIS died when on crusade, in 1270. The reign of his son Philip III. (called 'the rash'), a dull person, is notable only because it accidentally increased the estates of the crown, adding to them Champagne; while the provinces of the king's uncle Alphonse, who died without leaving any children, also reverted to the crown. Philip IV. (*le Bel*, the handsome) succeeded Philip III. in 1285. His

4. Philip IV.

reign is of great importance in the history of France, because of the system of government he worked out, which lasted for five hundred years; but it would not help us to go into that here.

One thing about it however we may notice; he started what was called the States-General, which was by way of being a National Assembly and was the nearest thing to a parliament of France, just at the time when the English parliament was taking its lasting shape under Edward I. But unlike the English parliament, the States-General had no powers at all. The 'three estates'—nobles, clergy, and commons (leaving out the peasantry)—were summoned to it; but all they had to do was to declare their approval of the king's wishes. Philip's intention in calling them was only to secure the appearance of having the country solidly on his side.

Courtrai.

Like Philip II. he tried, by trickery and double dealing more than by force, to snatch estates from his great feudatories the count of Flanders and Edward of England; of which doings we shall read in the story of Edward. He actually got possession of Flanders for a time, because the Flemings quarrelled with their count. But they found the king of France the more oppressive master of the two; and their revolt against him was marked by the first battle (Courtrai, 1302) in which infantry proved that they could shatter the attack of armoured knights, who ever since Hastings had been supposed to be able to carry everything before them.

The Avignon Papacy.

The great event of the reign however was the overthrow of Pope Boniface VIII. When Philip and Edward were quarrelling Boniface tried to assert his authority as Pope over both of them, and called upon them to submit to his judgment between them. Both flatly refused; thereupon Boniface issued a Bull, known as *Clericis Laicos* because it opens with those words, forbidding the clergy to make any payments to the kings without his own leave. The clergy soon found that they would have to obey the kings in spite of the Pope; but the quarrel between king and Pope was renewed a little later; and this time Philip marched troops against Boniface, and took him prisoner—with such violence that in a few days the Pope was dead. When after an interval a French bishop was elected to the Papacy as Clement V., he took up his residence at Avignon in Provence. And thus began the seventy years of the 'Avignon Papacy' or 'Babylonish Captivity' during which the Pope was generally little more than a vassal of the French king.

When Philip died, three of his sons ruled in succession (Louis X., Philip v., and Charles iv.); none of whom had sons though two left daughters. And out of this arose the great question of the law of succession in France. For over three hundred years son had succeeded to father; the question who was to succeed when there was no son had never needed to be asked. Now that it had to be asked there was no certain law to go by. But the French meant to have a king, not a queen; they meant also to have a Frenchman; and the French lawyers discovered an ancient law of succession among the Salian Franks—known in consequence as the 'Salic Law'—which required the succession to be only in the male line. By this rule, the heir of Charles iv., the 'last of the old Capets,' was Philip of Valois whose father had been the son of Philip iii.; and he was declared king as Philip vi. in 1328.

The Valois succession.

II. Edward I. (*a*) The Law-giver: 1272-1292.

Introductory—Edward's Aims—Legislation, First Period—
Legislation, Second Period.

i. Edward I.

The reign of Edward i. (1272-1307) is one of the most important in the whole history of England. He gave a lasting shape to the parliament which Montfort had tried to create in place of a Council of Barons and Prelates. He was the first great law-giver since Alfred. He made England a solid nation which understood as it had never understood before that the prosperity of each separate bit of it depended upon the prosperity of the whole. He tried—though in the end he failed—to unite not only England but the British Isles into one nation. He made one very big mistake, which the shrewdest of Englishmen are very apt to make, and it was the cause of that failure. And there was one defect in his character which fixes him on a level altogether lower than that of Alfred the Great or St. Louis of France. But between Alfred and Elizabeth there was no sovereign to whom England owes her greatness more than to Edward i.

His reign falls into two divisions of almost equal length; the first from 1272 to 1292, the second from 1293 to 1307. The first is the period of law-giving, of the subjugation of Wales, and of the first plans for joining Scotland to England. The second is the period of Constitution-making, of the attempt to subjugate Scotland, and of a contest with Philip iv. of France—matters which we shall find very much entangled together. And through both periods there is a clashing between royal and ecclesiastical authority, in which the crown was definitely victorious.

We have separated the whole reign into two periods, and we can divide our first period into two parts—not two halves by dates, but two subjects: law-giving or legislation, and the affairs of Wales and Scotland. We shall take legislation first, and deal with it in this section. But because the Welsh wars break into it and affect it in some degree, we must make a note about dates to start with—that there were two stages in the subjugation of Wales; a short war and a temporary settlement in 1277, a second war and final settlement in 1282-4.

2. Edward's Accession.

Edward was in Palestine when the news of his father's death reached him. Nothing came of these crusades. Only a tremendous united effort of Europe could have recovered Palestine now, and no such effort was forthcoming. Edward's crusade interests us only because of the pleasing story of the loving devotion of his wife Eleanor of Castile. Edward was attacked and wounded by a fanatic with a poisoned dagger; Eleanor, whom he had taken with him, risked her own life by sucking the poison from the wound. Edward was in no haste to return home when Henry died; in fact he tarried so long on the way that he did not reach England till 1274. He knew there was no danger of disturbance; there was no possible rival to lay claim to the throne; so the baronage took the oath of allegiance to him, in his absence, at a Great Council, which was summoned for that purpose in 1273, and is sometimes called Edward's First Parliament.

Edward had learnt much from Montfort; and he could do as king what had been impossible for a baron who was trying to override the king's authority. Edward intended as king to rule justly and to protect the weak against oppression by the stronger. But he intended to rule as he himself thought fit, without being managed by favourites, lured by the Pope, or dictated to by barons. As for the first, he chose not favourites who flattered him but ministers who would do his bidding and give shrewd counsel when it was wanted. That removed the first of the baronial grievances of the last reign. As for the second, the baronage, the laity in general, and a good half of the clergy, would be on his side in resisting papal interference. But to resist dictation by the baronage was another matter. The power of the crown must be increased, that of the barons to combine in opposition must be diminished. But it must be done in a fashion which would not stir them up to a united resistance.

The first thing then was to clear away possible grounds of dispute, before disputes should arise. It was common ground now for every one concerned with the government that whatever the law was every one from the king down must obey it. But there was still room for a vast amount of disagreement as to what was or was not the law. It became Edward's first object to *define the law*; to make definite, certain, and indisputable what was at present indefinite, uncertain, and disputable. It was hardly less needful that the definition should be done by agreement. It was clearly reasonable that the agreement should be reached in concert with other persons who were affected by the law, besides the king and the magnates; there were several magnates like Gilbert of Gloucester who had agreed upon that point with Montfort, though they had resented the great earl's dictatorship.

Defining the Law.

So under Edward, time after time, the laws are defined in statutes passed by a parliament. The form of parliament is not yet fixed. Sometimes only magnates are summoned; sometimes knights of the shire, and lesser clergy; sometimes borough representatives also. But the principle is always the same. The law is to be made definite and exact by agreement, so that no one shall say that the thing was done in order to twist the law to the advantage of this or that group and to the injury of others.

Now, hitherto, the kings had always claimed that when the meaning of the law was open to question it lay with them to decide precisely what it did mean. Henry I. had issued a Charter on his own account. Henry II. had drawn up the Constitutions of Clarendon—which were professedly not new laws but a statement of the law—on his own account. John, having sealed the Charter under compulsion, denied that he was bound by it. Henry III. had reissued the Charter, but claimed to leave out of it what he did not regard as the law of the land. Edward therefore could argue that in submitting fresh definitions of the law to the Great Council or any one else, he was making a handsome concession, in return for which he might fairly expect concessions to his own reasonable wishes.

3. Consulting the Council.

So he summoned what may properly be called his First Parliament at Westminster in 1275; a sort of summary was made of many existing charters and written laws; this was issued under the name of the Statute of Westminster, and became definitely the law of the land. (From this time the word statute is nearly always used for a law passed by parliament, as opposed to ordinances or orders issued without the authority of a regular parlia-

Statute of Westminster I.

ment.) The king got value in return—a grant from parliament of the right to levy a toll or tax upon wool and leather which were being exported for purchasers abroad. This tax was levied at the ports where the goods were embarked on board ship, and soon came to be known as 'the Great and Ancient Custom' which every king had a lawful and undoubted right to levy. Rights of the crown which might not lawfully be disputed are known as prerogatives, a word which we shall often meet with later.

Though several councils or parliaments were called mainly that they might be asked for grants of money, there were no more important measures till after the first Welsh war. In 1278 Edward had found something else about which it was necessary that a definite settlement should be reached. The law beyond doubt gave certain rights to all lords within their lordships. But there were many who claimed and exercised various additional rights such as exemptions from some feudal obligation, freedom from fines or services, *privileges* belonging to themselves in particular. Had they any legal right to these privileges? Some could show documents which proved that earlier kings had conferred them—Richard I. for instance had granted privileges in return for cash—others had no proofs.

'Quo Warranto.'

This was not a matter for law-making. Edward issued what is known as the writ *Quo Warranto* ('by what warrant?') requiring every one who enjoyed such privileges to produce proof that he had a legal right to them. Some of the barons had no legal right to them; many more had no proofs. But that, in their eyes, was no reason why they should be robbed of what they had enjoyed for generations. There was such a storm of wrath that the king had to give way. He would not require proofs, if it could be shown that the rights had been exercised as far back as the reign of Richard I.—that is, for eighty years. Of grants made since then there would certainly be records forthcoming. That satisfied the barons. But it also gave the king what he wanted. All the privileges were on record now, and no one hereafter would be able to claim anything more without a written grant. There would be no more chance of usurping privileges without being detected.

4. Statute of Mortmain.

NEXT year, 1279, it was the Church's turn. A new archbishop of Canterbury, John Peckham, was taking it on himself to assert the authority of the Church courts against the king's officers. Edward promptly got from parliament a new law called the Statute of Mortmain ('the dead hand'); which needs explaining.

While a tenant lived he had to pay feudal dues on taking up knighthood and other occasions. When he died, his heir on taking possession of the estate had to pay fees to the overlord; when the heir was not grown up, the overlord could claim rights of 'wardship'; if there was no heir, the estate was 'escheated'—it went back to the overlord. But there is one kind of tenant who never dies—that is, a 'corporation.' A corporation is not a single person but a body of persons, like a school. It goes on without dying, a new member coming in when an old one leaves or dies. The Church was a corporation; so was a monastery. If a tenant bestowed his estate on the Church, the Church became the tenant in his place—a tenant who never died, so that the overlord never got any of the fees which came to him on the death of a tenant.

Therefore all overlords, and especially the king, the biggest of overlords, disliked their tenants to bestow estates on corporations. But people generally believed that from the pious act of bestowing estates on the Church, they would themselves derive benefit in the next life. So that the Church grew wealthy by such gifts. The Statute of Mortmain required that in future there should be no gift to a corporation without the overlord's consent. Of course an overlord could hardly refuse without a very strong reason, but still it meant that if the churchmen annoyed the king—or any overlord—he could retaliate by stopping his tenants from bestowing any estates on the Church. What was held by a corporation was said to be 'in a dead hand,' 'held in Mortmain'; hence the name of the statute.

'De Donis.'

After the second Welsh war there were two more Statutes of Westminster, in 1285 and 1290; both of which were concerned with rights of succession to land and the authority of overlords. The first, like the Statute of Westminster I., was mainly a sort of revised and corrected edition of existing laws, and is sometimes called the Statute of Westminster II.; but its usual name is *De Donis* ('concerning gifts'). By this a person who had come into possession of an estate, not by free gift or inheritance but upon conditions, was forbidden to pass it on to some one else who was not his natural heir. If he had no heir, it went back to the original possessor or his heirs. All overlords of course benefited by this; but if the big barons gained by it the king as the biggest overlord gained still more.

So also the big barons gained, but the king gained still more, by the Statute of Westminster III. (1290) called *Quia Emptores* ('because purchasers' . . .). Tenants had sold estates, the purchasers becoming their 'men,' their vassals. This was stopped by the statute. The purchaser, by it, became the man not of the tenant from whom he had bought it but of the tenant's overlord. A baron (tenant in-chief), or mesne tenant holding not from the king but from some other overlord, when he sold some of his estates, would no longer be increasing the number of his own vassals by doing so, but the number of his overlord's men.

'Quia Emptores.'

The only other statute we need notice here is the Statute of Winchester (1285) which, like Henry II.'s Assize of Arms, dealt with shire levies, making their employment in the king's service, instead of feudal levies, an easier matter than it had been hitherto: partly by new orders as to arms and training, and partly by changes in the rules of service.

III. Edward I. (*b*) The Imperialist: 1272-1292.

The Scheme of Union—Conquest of Wales—Settlement of Wales—
The Scottish Arbitration.

We turn now from Edward's law-making to his subjugation of Wales and his first plans for bringing Scotland under the English crown.

1. Policy of Union.

Edward saw from the first that if the whole island of Great Britain were combined into a single dominion it would form a much more powerful state than any that could be created so long as there were two independent kingdoms of England and Scotland, while Wales remained half-independent, half-organised, and more than half-hostile. The desire for union was the desire of a wise statesman, and was shared by statesmen in Scotland until it became an accomplished fact four hundred years after Edward 'Longshanks,' *Malleus Scotorum*, 'the Hammer of the Scots,' was laid in his grave. The last name—which Edward gave himself—shows just why it was that he failed to win the union he desired.

Edward's error.

For the condition of union was *consent*. It was here that Edward made his great blunder. He was sure—and in this he was right—that the English methods of government gave more security to life and property, to law and order and justice, than the methods of any other country. He saw that in England this was made the more certain by ensuring the assent of the people through parliament to the methods of the government; but he did not see that this assent was necessary in other parts of the island if the English methods were to be set to work in them. The English government, he argued, was good; therefore the Welsh and the Scots ought to accept it; therefore if they resisted it, they should be compelled at the sword's point to accept it; therefore when the Scots did resist, he hammered them. But the hammering, instead of breaking the resistance, welded it into a fierce and indomitable defiance. By becoming the Hammer of the Scots he made union impossible for centuries; because the Scots could not be conquered.

With Wales he was more successful, because Wales was much smaller than Scotland, and could not offer an equally stubborn resistance to hammering. But even there his success was so incomplete that a hundred years after his death a Welsh prince, Owen Glendower, was able to remain in arms against the English king all through the reign of Henry IV.

2. Wales: Llewelyn.

WALES brought the conquest on herself. She had been the tributary of England for centuries, and the burden was not heavy. If Llewelyn had been content, and the Welsh had been content, with setting up order throughout the principality, Wales might have continued to govern itself after its own fashion for centuries longer, at least if she could have kept the peace with the Marchers. But the Welsh were not ready to set up a single orderly government—they were too much at odds among themselves—and Llewelyn wished to be not only Prince of Wales but Prince of all Wales up to Offa's Dyke, and free from any English suzerainty. He misjudged his own strength, and unwisely behaved in a way which gave Edward the best of excuses for taking hostile measures against him. Such justification was exactly what Edward wanted; it enabled him to say that Llewelyn had left him no choice. For about two things the king was extremely particular; he would do nothing which his adversary had not given him a legal right to do (though he was most ingenious in discovering pretexts for claiming that the rights existed) and he prided himself on never breaking his word (though he considered that it was only the exact letter of his promise that was binding).

Edward attacks Llewelyn.

Llewelyn then, from the time when Henry III. died, avoided taking the oath of allegiance to the new king, and also making the payments agreed upon at the treaty of Shrewsbury when he had made his peace with Henry after Montfort's death. In 1277 Edward's patience was exhausted. He launched a campaign against Llewelyn, closing him up in Gwynedd from the east and south, and then making a military road along the north coast.

Llewelyn, completely cut off in the Snowdon country, was obliged to surrender, and to submit to the loss of everything he had acquired outside his original principality of Gwynedd.

So far, the Welsh outside Gwynedd had not supported Llewelyn; for the other chieftains' old jealousy of his power had grown up again. But now, in the recovered districts, Edward planted great castles at Rhuddlan, Flint, and Caermarthen, and set up in them a government like that of the English shires, following not Welsh customs but English laws; excellent for the English among whom it had grown up naturally, but detestable to the Welsh upon whom it was forced. Year by year, Welsh sentiment went over to Llewelyn's side, and hostility to the English increased. In the fifth year, 1282, so many had become secret supporters of the Welsh prince that he counted himself strong enough to strike, and at his call all Wales blazed out in sudden insurrection.

The Conquest.

The rising began successfully, for the Marchers were taken by surprise; in the south the Welsh defeated Gloucester; in the north, when Edward was beginning to repeat his plan of campaign in 1277, another body of his troops was trapped and cut up. An English force attacking in the middle Marches found its way blocked by a Welsh force strongly posted at the Bridge of Orewyn on the Yrvon. But the English found another passage over the river, and so were able to come unexpectedly upon the Welsh flank, and to win what proved to be a decisive victory—the first time since Hastings that archers had been used to prepare the way for a cavalry charge. Even more important than the victory was the death of Llewelyn, who was killed almost by accident on his way to join the force at Orewyn Bridge.

Llewelyn's death did not end the war; his brother David who had twice changed sides, and other chiefs, knew that they would be treated as traitors, and so fought on to the last. But there was no longer one leader to whom all could rally. The resistance broke down and in the summer of 1283 David was surrendered by his own countrymen to the English, to be executed as a traitor.

3. Settlement of Wales.

So ended the second Welsh war, and such independence as Wales had hitherto enjoyed. Part of the country went to the Marchers; the greater part, the principality of Wales, was taken by the king for himself, who soon afterwards made a beginning of the practice of bestowing it upon the heir-apparent (the person who if he survives the king *must* succeed him on the throne;

a brother or nephew cannot be 'heir-apparent'; if he is the actual heir, he is still only 'heir-presumptive,' because the king *may* still have a son born to him who will then be the heir-apparent). So the English heir-apparent or Crown Prince is nearly always known as the 'Prince of Wales.'

This principality had its own government, which was not under the government of England but was a sort of copy of it. This was the time when many famous Welsh castles were built and garrisoned and placed in charge of castellans so that insurrections might be put down the more easily. But always there was the chance of the Welshmen gathering under some leader in the heart of the hills where heavily armed troops could only move with difficulty and danger. More than a century was still to pass before Welsh insurrections against the English finally came to an end.

Effects of the Annexation.

This annexation of Wales was settled in 1284 by an edict called the Statute of Wales—though this is an exception to the rule of using the name statute for laws passed by parliament. For the passing of the Statute of Wales no parliament was called. The Welsh wars however caused the summoning of several parliaments for the granting of money to pay for the campaigns; and it was partly because so much difficulty was found in keeping the Marchers' feudal levies in the field that a parliament which was called in 1285 passed the Statute of Winchester (not Westminster) mentioned at the end of the last section.

There was also another important result of the Welsh wars. Because there had always been constant warfare on the Welsh borders, the Marcher earls of Chester, Shrewsbury, Hereford, and Gloucester, and big Marcher barons like Mortimer of Wigmore of whom we heard in Montfort's time, had privileges which greatly increased their power. Now that the principality was in the king's own hands and was kept in order by his own officers and garrisons, the Marchers were no longer guardians of the Marches; the reason for their privileges had disappeared. One of these privileges was that of making war when they chose upon their Welsh neighbours, and on each other. For every one else—except on the Scottish Border—'private' wars were sternly forbidden as breaches of the king's Peace. Edward now deprived them of this right which had been granted for what had been good reasons which now no longer existed. The Marchers were very indignant, still they had to give way—the other barons had no interest in maintaining for the Marchers privileges which they did not enjoy themselves.

But the Marchers, and especially Bohun, earl of Hereford, cherished resentment against King Edward, and watched for a chance of paying him out.

4. Scotland.

If Edward had thoughts of enforcing English sovereignty over Scotland at the beginning of his reign, he knew at least that he would have to wait. Alexander III., the king of Scots, was notably able, very popular, younger than Edward himself by a year or two, but experienced in statecraft and successful in war. Also he was the English king's brother-in-law. Obviously he was not a man against whom Edward could assert disputable claims.

The Maid of Norway.

But Alexander's sons died young. His daughter and heiress, Margaret, was married to Eric, king of Norway, with whom the king of Scots was on friendly terms after Eric had dropped his claims on the north of Scotland and the Isles. In 1283 Margaret died, leaving an infant daughter—another Margaret—who was known as the Maid of Norway, and was now Alexander's heiress. In 1286 Alexander was killed by a fall from his horse: Scotland recognised the little Margaret as queen, and the government was carried on by a regency of nobles and prelates. An heir had been born to Edward in 1284 (afterwards Edward II.). The marriage of the two children would unite the crowns of England and Scotland on the death of Edward I., to the advantage of both countries, and meanwhile the party of law and order in Scotland would have the support of the king of England.

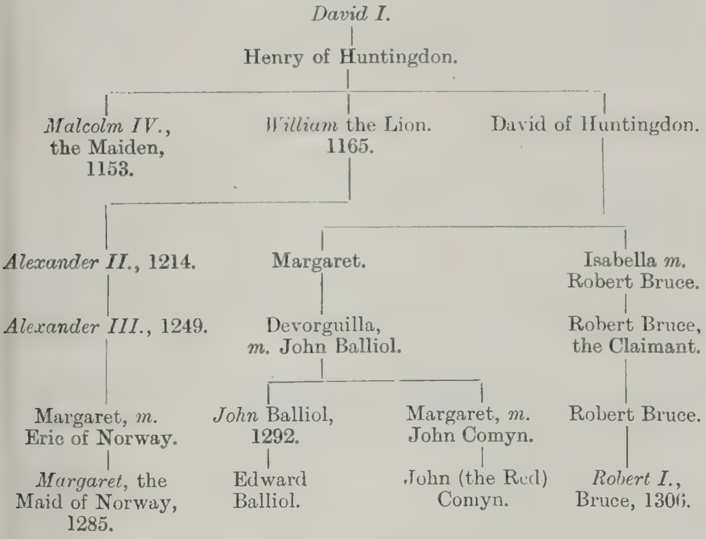
This excellent scheme was agreed to by all parties at the treaty of Brigham. Little Margaret was sent over from Norway in 1290—but she died on the way before she could reach Scotland. Her death of course destroyed the plan altogether. And it raised a new difficulty at the same time. Who was the lawful heir to the throne of Scotland?

The Scots succession.

There were no living descendants of any of the last four kings of Scots. But there were several descendants of David of Huntingdon, the youngest grandson of David I. (the Kenneth of Sir Walter Scott's novel *The Talisman*). Among the swarm of claimants there were clearly two between whom the choice must lie—John Balliol, the grandson of David's eldest daughter, and Robert Bruce, the son of his second daughter. Both were barons of Scotland and also barons of England, like many more of the Scots nobles. By the rule which had set John on the throne of England instead of his elder brother's son Arthur of Brittany, Bruce's claim was the stronger; by the more usual rule, Balliol's.

The Scots decided that the question should be settled by arbitration—by some one outside, whose decision would not be influenced by any interests in Scottish factions. They invited the king of England to arbitrate. Edward seized his opportunity. He would arbitrate—but as suzerain. The parties must undertake to accept his decision, and the one to whom the succession was awarded must receive the crown as vassal of the king of England. If they refused, he as legal suzerain would take matters into his own hands.

THE SCOTTISH CROWN


David I.
Henry of Huntingdon.
Malcolm IV., the Maiden, 1153.
William the Lion. 1165.
David of Huntingdon.
Alexander II., 1214.
Margaret.
Isabella *m.* Robert Bruce.
Alexander III., 1249.
Devorguilla, *m.* John Balliol.
Robert Bruce, the Claimant.
Margaret, *m.* Eric of Norway.
John Balliol, 1292.
Margaret, *m.* John Comyn.
Robert Bruce.
Margaret, the Maid of Norway, 1285.
Edward Balliol.
John (the Red) Comyn.
Robert I., Bruce, 1306.

Award of Norham.

The Scots did not refuse. Half the greater baronage were already Edward's vassals for lands in England; if the Scots king were also his vassal, they would no longer have a divided allegiance. Besides, English kings had made the claim before, but even Henry II. after Falaise had not interfered with Scottish affairs—Edward would no doubt follow their example. As for Bruce and Balliol, neither of them would give up the chance of a crown because it was to be held in fief from a king whose vassals they were already. The Commons of Scotland had no voice in the question; moreover it was a matter of indifference to them whether their king paid homage to another king or not. So the terms were accepted; Edward appointed a commission at Norham to examine all the arguments for and against the two selected candidates. In 1292 the commission arrived at what seems to us the natural conclusion that John Balliol was the lawful heir; and Balliol became king of Scotland, doing homage for his kingdom to Edward of England. Before four years were over he had lost his crown, and Edward himself was king of Scotland.

IV. Edward I. (*c*) Malleus Scotorum: 1293-1307.

The French Complication—The Model Parliament—The Scots Crown and the Confirmation of the Charters—William Wallace—Falkirk—Subjugation—Revolt of Bruce.

At the opening of 1293 Edward was at the height of his power and prosperity. He was master of Wales. He had curtailed the dangerous privileges of the Marchers. Questionable customs had been regulated and doubtful laws defined, always in a sense favourable to the royal authority. He was indisputably suzerain over the king of Scots. The sky seemed clear—but storms were gathering.

1. The French Quarrel.

The maker of trouble was Philip iv. of France, who was watching for a chance of stealing dominions from the duke of Aquitaine. In 1293 he found an opening. French and English sailors were constantly at feud in the Channel, each side accusing the other of piracy. Sailors from Gascony, vassals of Edward, sided with the English in one of the sea-fights which took place from time to time between the rivals. For the conduct of his Gascon subjects Edward as duke of Aquitaine was responsible to his suzerain, the French king. Philip called him to account. Strictly obedient to the feudal law, Edward sent his brother Edmund, earl of Lancaster (the same for whom the crown of Sicily had been sought), to answer for the charges, in 1294. Philip ingeniously tricked him into a temporary surrender of some Gascon castles, which were to be restored when matters were settled; but having once got them garrisoned, Philip declined to give them back.

The English baronage shared Edward's indignation, and warmly supported him in preparing for a French war. But a foreign war was the opportunity for the disaffected at home. An insurrection broke out in Wales and the main French expedition had to be deferred till its suppression in 1295. Only a small force was despatched to Gascony—where it did not prosper.

Meanwhile Scotland was turning restive. To the dismay of the nobles Edward had begun to exercise authority, encouraging appeals from Scotland to his own courts. This was something new and intolerable; the Scots magnates, after the manner of the Mad Parliament, took the rule out of the hands of the feeble Balliol, declared that no appeals should be carried to England, and made an alliance with the French king (1295). Edward ordered the Scots to surrender some Border castles to him. The new Scots government refused.

2. The Model Parliament.

THE moment had come when Edward felt that England must give an emphatic demonstration of its unity in the face of gathering foes—rebellious Wales, rebellious Scotland, a French suzerain bent on robbery, actually threatening an invasion, and craftily encouraging treason among his great vassal's subjects—Edward could not guess yet that for two and a half centuries the alliance now beginning between French and Scots was to be a constant menace to his successors from generation to generation. It was perhaps in order to put to the test, to prove to all men and not least to himself, the new-found unity of the English nation that Edward summoned the Model Parliament of 1295—though the immediate and manifest object was only the provision of money for military purposes.

Hitherto Edward's parliaments had been summoned by no regular fixed rule. Always the few great barons and prelates—bishops and abbots—had been called, sometimes knights of the shire, sometimes perhaps burgesses. On this occasion, besides the great magnates each of whom had a personal summons (as it was laid down in Magna Carta) each shire was bidden to elect two knights to attend (most of them being of the lesser baronage), each borough to elect two burgesses, the minor clergy to choose their own representatives. In that parliament every freeman was represented, because every freeholder in shire or borough had a vote in the election of knight or burgess. It is called the Model Parliament because—though changes were afterwards made in the grouping of the members for deliberation and discussion—the rules about summoning barons and electing two knights and two burgesses for shires and boroughs became fixed.

Peers, Clergy, and Commons.

This time, the 'three estates'—clergy, baronage, and citizens (*communes* or Commons which meant much the same thing as a self-governing borough)—voted the supplies asked for by the king, each as a separate group, the knights of the shire counting with the baronage. In later parliaments the knights joined the borough representatives, forming with them the House of Commons. The name baron which had meant any tenant-in-chief was reserved for those greater barons who—first as a matter of courtesy and then as a hereditary right—were summoned personally. These, with the prelates who were similarly summoned, formed the House of Lords or Peers (the barons were the Temporal Peers, the prelates the Peers Spiritual). Also later, the minor clergy ceased to attend parliament as an estate, but the churchmen held separately their own assembly which was known as Convocation.

But the 1295 parliament was a model in another way too. It was intended to express the will of the nation. Edward made a great declaration when he summoned it—'What touches all should be approved by all.' About such matters as concern the whole nation, the whole nation should be judge—and there lies the whole difference between what we call Constitutional Government and Absolutism. A ruler who is 'Absolute' may be bound by the law, but can do all manner of things against the people's will; a constitutional ruler is bound to act by consent of the people. Edward did not turn his government into constitutional rule—even the word constitutional had not been invented—but he had declared that that was what it ought to be, though centuries passed before English kings learned, or parliaments ventured to claim, that the will of the king must not override the will of the nation expressed by its 'representatives.'

3. Annexation of Scotland.

THE parliament voted supplies liberally; the king knew that he had the nation behind him. The chance of a French invasion was stopped by new arrangements for controlling the Channel and defending the south coast. Edward understood how a navy should be used for purposes of war, and made good use of his fleets in Welsh and Scottish campaigns as well as against the French. Edmund of Lancaster was sent to Gascony. Balliol, in the hands of the group of magnates who had seized the government of Scotland, was forced to renounce his allegiance to Edward, who determined that the first thing to be done was to dethrone him as a 'recalcitrant' or rebellious vassal, and to take the Scots crown for himself as having been lawfully forfeited. He marched into Scotland; many Scots lords came on his side; he took the chief towns, captured Balliol, and required the Scots to swear allegiance to himself as king; which most of the baronage did, great and small—but not all. Then he left Earl Warenne behind as his lieutenant, having placed English garrisons and commanders in the most important castles; and returned to England to call a fresh parliament and ask for more supplies for the French war.

Crown and Clergy.

But this time he was not to have his own way so easily as in 1295. Pope Boniface had just issued the Bull *Clericis Laicos* mentioned in an earlier section. Archbishop Winchelsea—Peckham was dead—declared that the clergy must obey the Pope and refuse to grant supplies without his permission. King, Barons, and Commons were equally angry. Edward demanded a double contribution; if the clergy refused they should be outlawed. They did refuse; they were outlawed.

A Constitutional struggle.

Money Edward must have. He seized the wool which merchants had brought down to the ports for export, and made them pay a heavy toll (called *male-tolt*) before he would give it back. That roused the anger of the Commons. Then he ordered the commanders at the head of the army, the Marshal and Constable, Bigod earl of Norfolk and Bohun earl of Hereford, to lead the forces in Gascony while he went to Flanders (being in alliance with the count against Philip). Bohun had been waiting his chance; the two earls flatly refused. They were bound to serve, but only with the king. They would go with him to Flanders if he chose; to Gascony without him they would not go. Edward blazed into fury. 'By God, sir earl, you shall either go or hang,' he broke out to Bigod. 'By God, sir king, I will neither go nor hang,' quoth the Marshal.

The law was on the side of Marshal and Constable. Edward found himself threatening to break the law. He realised his blunder. Tempers cooled down. He drew back. Winchelsea gave the clergy permission to contribute as conscience should dictate to each, and most of them made haste to redeem themselves from outlawry. The Commons were soothed by promises that the wool which had been seized should be paid for. Military service oversea was to be paid for as voluntary service, not treated as a legal obligation. Hereford and Norfolk, still sore, refused to go, and resigned their offices; the expedition to Gascony was dropped, but in August (1297) Edward himself departed to Flanders.

'Confirmatio Cartarum.'

Yet there was another defeat in store for him before the year was out. While he was in the thick of his quarrels news came of risings in Scotland; but it was taken for granted that Warenne would deal with them. Edward had hardly been a month in Flanders when Warenne met with a crushing defeat at Cambuskenneth or Stirling Bridge; the tables were turned, the English were being flung out of Scotland neck and crop, and the Scots were raiding over the English Border.

The earls had their second chance, and took it. Edward had been zealous enough about getting laws confirmed and defined where he saw that the crown would be strengthened; he had been no less careful to avoid confirming the charters which limited the crown's powers. Before he went to France the earls had tried hard to extort from him a formal confirmation of the charters, but they had failed. Now, men and money were urgently needed to suppress the Scottish rebellion. They should be forthcoming—but not till the charters were formally confirmed. If Edward had been in England he might have beaten the earls; but the council of regency he had left behind was not strong enough. The earls forced upon the council the confirmation of Magna Carta and the Forest Charter with an additional declaration that tolls like the male-tolt could not legally be enforced without the consent of parliament. Edward in Flanders had no choice but to sanction the regency's confirmation, though he still avoided signing it.

This *Confirmatio Cartarum* became definitely and finally the law of the land. But besides this it set a 'precedent,' an example for imitation in the future; thenceforth the claim was to be made that if the crown demanded supplies, grievances must be remedied before they were granted.

4. The Scots.

THE Scots insurrection was not a rebellion of the barons of Scotland against the unlawful rule of a usurper. For every step by which Edward had secured the crown for himself he could plead legal warrant. Though his original demand for the recognition of his suzerainty before the Norham Conference would have been difficult to maintain in point of law if it had been resolutely challenged, the Scottish magnates had accepted it, and having done so could only challenge it afterwards on the ground that their acceptance had not been free but given under compulsion, a threat of invasion which they were not in a position to resist. The insurrection was a popular rising against brutal oppression, which grew into national resistance to foreign domination.

When Edward invaded Scotland and overturned John Balliol, he had treated resistance with merciless severity. When he left the country under old Warenne, earl of Surrey, with the odious Hugh Cressingham as treasurer and real ruler, garrisons were planted as if in a conquered country, who treated the Scots very much as the Normans had treated the English in the early days of the conquest, when William was 'lawful' king of England by election of the witan. The champion who raised the insurrection was not a noble but a simple knight, Sir William Wallace of Ellerslie; who began proceedings by breaking the heads of English officers who insulted his wife and tried to rob him. That drove him into hiding in the hills, where other men of a like spirit gathered to him, and swore to turn the English out. The little band became a big band; the flame was kindled everywhere; by the midsummer of 1297 it was blazing, though the nobles generally stood aloof, not at all inclined to submit to the leadership of a mere knight.

William Wallace.

At last in September, Warenne and Cressingham marched against Wallace. At Stirling Bridge or Cambuskenneth, by a piece of almost incredibly bad generalship, they enabled him to cut their forces to pieces. Cressingham was slain and quite literally cut into small pieces —so bitterly was he hated; Warenne escaped with his life by hard riding. The national party proclaimed the victorious Wallace 'Guardian of the kingdom' in the name of the absent John Balliol, and the English were harried out of the country before the end of 1297—while Edward was in Flanders confirming the charters.

5. A Scots Campaign.

PHILIP in Flanders had much larger forces than Edward; Edward was the more skilful commander; neither wanted to risk a defeat, and neither could make sure of a victory. In fact there was a deadlock, and so about the end of 1297 the two kings agreed to a truce for two years. Edward returned to England, set upon punishing the Scots for their rebellion. There was still trouble with the earls, who suspected him of intending to back out of his confirmation of the charters, and wanted him to renew it now that he was back in his own kingdom. However, they consented to wait till the Scottish business was settled; still it was not till summer (1298) that Edward was able to lead a strong force into Scotland.

Wallace did not mean to fight a pitched battle. The nobles were still wavering; he had hardly any cavalry and only a few bowmen; nearly all his troops were foot soldiers. Courtrai had not yet been fought and it was still believed that infantry could not stand against the charge of masses of armoured cavalry, of which Edward had plenty. Edward found that Wallace and the peasantry had stripped the country of provender of which his own troops ran short; he could not bring the enemy to bay, and was on the point of retreating when he learnt that Wallace's army was within striking distance at Falkirk. He pushed forward, and the Scots resolved to make a stand.

Falkirk.

The fight which followed was very much like the fight at Hastings. The Scots were massed on foot, knee to knee in the front rank, shoulder to shoulder behind, the front bristling with spears. Between the masses of spearmen were the small clumps of bowmen. Edward's horsemen arrived first on the field. They easily cut the Scots archers to pieces, and the small body of Scottish horse —which had never meant fighting—fled. But when the English men-at-arms hurled themselves upon the phalanx of Scottish spears they could not break in—as the cavalry charges had failed at Hastings. As at Hastings, it seemed that the stubborn infantry were going to win after all.

But the scene changed when the English archers arrived. The Welsh wars had taught Edward how to use them—as William had used them at Hastings; only with this new advantage, that they were now armed with the powerful long-bow instead of the old short-bow (something like the change in the nineteenth century from the musket to the rifle). The Scots had no cavalry to rush the archers who were brought up to short range and poured a storm of arrows upon particular points in the phalanx, making great gaps into which the horsemen crashed. Once they were inside the ranks, the spears could not be turned against them. The Scots fought with desperate valour, but in vain. Wallace's army was shattered and scattered; only a portion of it, including Wallace himself, escaped from the field.

If Wallace had won at Falkirk, the independence of Scotland would have been secured. His defeat did not bring Scotland to submission. It destroyed the personal authority and power which his earlier successes had gained for him, but it made some of the nobles more inclined to come forward on the national side—their pride had resented their own subordination to a mere knight of lower degree than themselves. And though Edward had broken up the armed resistance for the moment, he could neither stay in Scotland nor return to it till two years had passed, on account of troubles in England and France.

6. Difficulties.

DURING those two years the party of earls gained their point, though—as they had expected—Edward tried to avoid signing the 'confirmation'; thinking that till he had done so he would be able to pretend that the Charters were not legally binding. At last however (1300) he was obliged to give way and to sign not only the charters but also some additional clauses (called *Articuli super cartas*) which would increase the difficulty of evading them. The French truce was also confirmed as a treaty of peace at Montreuil. Queen Eleanor had died in 1290 (which is probably one reason why Edward seems harder, more arrogant and quarrelsome, in the second half of his reign than in the first), and by this treaty Edward agreed to marry Philip's sister and to marry the Prince of Wales to Philip's daughter Isabella, a union which had disastrous results.

Disturbed Scotland.

Meanwhile Scotland remained in disorder. The English in the country found the nobles acting sometimes for them and sometimes against them, sometimes with each other and sometimes against each other, sometimes professing loyalty to Edward, sometimes acting as his enemies. The grandson of the old Robert Bruce who had been Balliol's rival as a claimant to the crown was now earl of Carrick and Annandale, and seemed to be perpetually shifting from one side to the other. Another of the leading nobles was John Comyn of Badenoch, a kinsman of Balliol, who belonged by tradition to the anti-English faction; he and Bruce seemed disposed to act together.

The Pope.

Edward, having come to terms with the barons, marched into Scotland in 1300, accomplished nothing of importance, and returned to England to find the barons with a fresh batch of grievances to be remedied; and on the top of this a fresh quarrel with Winchelsea. The Pope had announced that Scotland was under his protection, and the archbishop supported the Pope. But this turned to Edward's advantage, for it brought the barons solidly over to his side. In a parliament in 1301 they told the Pope that no king of England was subject to the Pope's authority in the conduct of the temporal affairs of his kingdom, or would be allowed by the baronage to submit to the Pope. So there was an end of the alliance between malcontents among the clergy and the baronage.

From this time the king was growing stronger again. Cornwall had 'lapsed' to the crown on the death of the king's cousin (Richard of Cornwall's son) without heirs; the duchy of Cornwall is crown property to this day. His brother Edmund's son, Thomas of Lancaster, had three earldoms. Young Gilbert de Clare, earl of Gloucester, was the son of Edward's daughter Joan, young Humphrey de Bohun of Hereford—the old earl was dead now—was married to another, Elizabeth; so that both the earldoms would, in the next generation, be in the royal family so to speak. The earldom of Norfolk would lapse to the crown as soon as old Bigod died. So that serious baronial opposition was no longer to be feared.

The Royal Family.

In 1301 and 1303 Edward led armies into Scotland—which only served to increase the hostility of the mass of the people in that country. The nobles would not resist Edward himself in arms, and Wallace was an outlaw; but though the country folk were leaderless, they made things as difficult as they could for the English, even when that meant destroying their own property and themselves retreating into the hills and 'moss-hags' or moorlands. However in 1304 most of the nobles had renewed their allegiance and obtained Edward's pardon for their irregularities. Apparently the outlaw Wallace, who never asked or received pardon, was again the only person who might become a centre of resistance. And he in 1305 was captured by a treacherous device of the earl of Menteith, handed over to the English authorities, carried off to London, and there put to a shameful death as a 'traitor'—to live for ever in the hearts of his countrymen as the National Hero, the foremost champion of freedom from a foreign usurpation.

The end of Wallace.

The English chronicles of the time abound in stories of the hero's blood-thirsty deeds; chroniclers were generally ready to believe anything of an enemy; Scottish traditions abound also in stories of his magnanimity as well as of his dauntless courage—and of the English outrages which stirred him to take the foremost part in the life-and-death struggle. Probably he did act with ferocity on some occasions; ferocity was the order of the day, and Edward himself punished resistance by ferocious slaughters. When he got Wallace into his hands, he had him dragged to the gallows on a hurdle, hanged and quartered. But the fact remains that while the half-English baronage, great and small, would neither boldly take the lead themselves, nor follow a leader of lower degree, nor even make up their minds on which side to fight if they must fight, William Wallace made up his mind from the beginning; and he never once looked back when once he had set his hand to the plough. He never swore allegiance to Edward; till the hour of his capture he never ceased to strive for the liberation of Scotland, however hopeless the struggle might seem. And he inspired the whole Scottish people with the same love of freedom, indomitable and undying; which is the heritage of all British folk.

7. A new Scots Government.

The fall of Wallace seemed to have set the seal upon Edward's triumph. Scottish resistance now was surely at an end. In England baronial and clerical opposition had collapsed. In France, Philip in 1303, smarting from his recent defeat by the Flemings at Courtrai, and engaged in his final contest with Boniface, had restored the disputed districts in Gascony. In 1305 the new Pope Clement IV. was a Frenchman, but as he had been bishop of Bordeaux which was in Edward's dominions, he was likely to be well-disposed to the king of England. Immediately after Wallace's death Scotland was given a new form of government which had been devised by a joint committee of English and Scots, of which Bruce and Comyn were both members. Its officers were to be partly English but mostly Scottish magnates. The Scots law of the Lowlands was to be the law of the whole country. What the Scottish Commons thought about it was of no account; they would soon learn to enjoy the blessings of English rule and English justice as much as the English themselves.

A strange Champion.

Suddenly in 1306 the whole Scottish edifice was shaken to its foundations. Balliol had vanished into retirement. Failing Balliol the title to the Scottish crown lay by descent with Robert Bruce; but his father had made no attempt to assert a claim when Balliol's suzerain had claimed the crown for himself by forfeiture. Since Falkirk, Bruce had on the whole ranged himself rather more on the English than on the Nationalist side. But an amazing change was being wrought in him, how and why no man knows with certainty. As it seems, he tried to come to an agreement with John Comyn (Balliol's nephew), intending with his support to make a bid for the throne. What we know is that he met Comyn in the church at Dumfries; that instead of an agreement there was an angry quarrel; and that Bruce slew Comyn at the altar-steps, though the actual death-blow was dealt by another hand.

Men said that Comyn rejected Bruce's proposals, and threatened to denounce him to Edward; which may or may not be true. One thing was clear; Bruce was guilty of homicide and sacrilege and, from

Edward's point of view, of flagrant treason. There could be no conceivable hope of pardon for him. He must either die a shameful death or make a desperate fight for life, victory, and the crown of Scotland. On the instant he made his choice. The crime of Dumfries had given to the cause of Scottish independence a leader for whom there could be no turning back.

Bruce's revolt.

The cause seemed hopeless enough. Murder and sacrilege with excommunication to follow were a bad passport to leadership. But there were Scots who with any leader at all were ready to stake everything on the struggle. The bishops of Glasgow and St. Andrews crowned Bruce as Robert I. king of Scotland at Scone on 25th March 1306, amongst a tiny band of adherents. The gage of battle was flung down.

The whole of the Comyn kin and connections were up in arms against the newly crowned king, as well as the whole English garrison. Bruce's revolt seemed doomed to utter failure; there was no need for a special expedition from England. At midsummer his small force was routed and scattered at Methven in Perthshire; he became a fugitive; two of his brothers, his wife, and his daughter were captured, and the brothers were put to death by the English. The clansmen of the Comyn faction hunted him through the hills; the legends of his wanderings are full of hair-breadth escapes and desperate feats of daring. He escaped; tradition says that he hid himself during the winter in an island off the Irish coast.

But he was not beaten. From the moment when he assumed the part of Liberator, he was a changed man, dauntless, resourceful, resolute, a mirror of chivalry. In the spring of 1307 he appeared suddenly in his earldom of Carrick with a small band of devoted followers, took the English completely by surprise, and swept them out.

Death of Edward.

The news was borne to Edward in London, and his wrath was kindled. The Scots rebels should suffer such chastisement as they had never known. He gathered a mighty army; he marched north taking his son and heir with him. But when in July the waters of Solway came in view, the hand of death was upon him. He never crossed the border. The storm did not burst upon Scotland. Dying he bade his son carry his bones over the doomed land till it should be utterly subdued. But his bones went no farther north than Burgh-on-Sands; his son bore them back to Westminster.

V. Dark Days after Edward I. : 1307-1330.

Edward II.—Gaveston and the Lords Ordainers —Thomas of Lancaster and the Despensers—Deposition and Usurpation.

I. Edward I.

THE death of Edward I. was a happy event for Scotland, and perhaps in the long run fortunate for England. He had done a great work; but in one part of his designs he had been checked; he had not established the right of the crown to raise revenue at its own will, while he had been forced to confirm the charters. Yet so powerful was he at the close of his reign that if his own life had been a little prolonged and his successor had been endowed with similar abilities and character, the crown might have been raised above the law altogether.

Edward II.

But the son who succeeded him was neither a statesman nor a soldier. Scotland shook off the English yoke, and in new contests with the baronage the crown lost its power and the king lost the crown. The twenty years of Edward II.'s reign were years of almost unrelieved failure; failure of the king, failure of the barons, failure of the people. The nation recovered itself; a new king and a new generation of barons recovered themselves; the country went forward again almost as if the dreary episode had never taken place. But the episode had its lessons.

A disastrous reign.

It has happened repeatedly that the work of a mighty ruler has crumbled or seemed to crumble to pieces on his death, because the strong man had gathered all the strings into his own hands, training his servants to do his bidding efficiently but not training any to take his own place or to act wisely on their own judgment without direction from a superior. So it was with Edward I. He had established his personal mastery over the barons, but his son was not their master. He had employed loyal servants who knew their business and did their duty; his son put in their places favourites who did not know their business or attempt to do their duty. When the strong hand was removed, the barons sought first of all to recover for themselves the power of which the old king had deprived them, with little thought for the public weal. Half the great earls were of the royal house, but the fact did not bind them together in support of the crown. For a few years the old earl of Lincoln and the young earl of Gloucester stood for the Edward I. tradition; but one died and the other fell in battle, and there remained only one, the king's distant cousin the earl of Pembroke, who tried half-heartedly to instil some public spirit into the working of the government. The baronage were united in only one thing, detestation of the king's favourites; and in the end it was Edward's own faithless queen Isabella who overthrew him, only to set up the still more hateful rule of the fierce baron Mortimer of Wigmore to whom she had given her guilty love.

2. Piers Gaveston.

EDWARD II. did not carry out his father's behest. He marched into Scotland, made a great show without doing any fighting, allowed his great army to disperse, and left Pembroke to suppress the rebels, while he and the rest of the baronage returned to England. There he recalled his favourite comrade, a young Gascon knight, Piers Gaveston, whom his father had banished, bestowed on him the royal earldom of Cornwall, dismissed his father's trusted and experienced ministers, bringing back in their places those whom his father had dismissed for dishonesty or incompetence, and went off to France to marry Isabella, leaving Gaveston behind as regent.

The Lords Ordainers.

This was worse than the worst that Henry III. had ever done. Gaveston's clever impertinences enraged the proud nobles no less than the worthlessness of his character. Before a year had passed, the ten earls and the rest of the greater barons united to demand the banishment of the upstart. Edward was obliged to give way and send his favourite to Ireland, but after another year brought him back. Again the earls united, and in 1310 compelled the king to accept a baronial Committee of Government—somewhat after the fashion of the Provisions of Oxford fifty years before—who were called the Lords Ordainers. Then Lincoln died, and his two earldoms were added to the three already held by Thomas of Lancaster, Edward's cousin, who had married Lincoln's daughter and heiress. With five earldoms, Lancaster was the most powerful man in the realm.

In 1311 the Ordainers submitted to parliament a scheme of government which placed all control in their own hands, while it deprived the king not only of all power but of some ordinary liberties, and at the same time banished Gaveston and other favourites under various pains and penalties. Gaveston went—but came back at the beginning of the next year. The earls rose in arms. Gaveston surrendered to them, on conditions. While he was in the custody of Pembroke and Warenne, Lancaster and Warwick seized him, carried him off, and beheaded him at Blacklow Hill, breaking the conditions which the others had promised to keep. The 'black dog of Arden,' as mocking Gaveston called Warwick, was an ill hound to anger.

Gaveston was gone. By the end of the year a sort of reconciliation was patched up for a time between the king and the earls, who were no longer united ;. for Pembroke and Warenne did not forgive Lancaster and Warwick for killing Gaveston when they had promised him his life, and young Gloucester was all the time trying to reconcile an honest loyalty to the king himself with an honest desire for decent government —for which no one else seemed to care. Everything was left to drift. And during the years of ceaseless faction in England, King Robert was gradually exterminating the English garrisons in Scotland. If Scotland was to be saved, England must make a big, united, and decisive effort.

Bannockburn.

At last, in 1314, the effort was made. It was big ; it was not united, for Lancaster stood aloof ; it was decisive, but decisive in favour of the Scots. The story will be told in the next section. Here we note that the greatest English army which had ever been mustered met with the most overwhelming defeat in its records, at Bannockburn, on 24th June 1314. Scotland's independence was won, and for the rest of Edward's reign the north of England lay open to the raids of the Scots.

At Bannockburn, Lancaster's ally Hereford was taken prisoner, and Gloucester was slain. The victory of the Scots only added to the chaos of the government in England.

3. The Despensers.

THERE was no improvement. Lancaster sulked and left the north unguarded ; while the Scots king encouraged the rumour that the earl was in league with him by carefully leaving his territories unraided. The king was raising up new favourites—the Despensers (father and son)—of a family which had once done good service to Montfort, and professed to support his ideas of popular parliaments. At last Pembroke managed to form a sort of middle party under which matters improved, but only slightly. Then a quarrel broke out over the succession to the lordship of Gower, in South Wales, which by the ordinary law should have lapsed to the crown, but was claimed by Mowbray, a Marcher baron, as passing to him by Marcher custom. Hugh Despenser took possession on the king's behalf ; the Marchers rose to maintain the Marcher custom ; Lancaster and even Pembroke joined the Marchers, to overthrow the Despensers ; and in 1321 a full parliament of the three estates banished them.

With the Despensers gone, the union of the barons went. A purely personal quarrel between Edward and the Marcher baron of Badlesmere brought the Marchers to arms again in 1322; Lancaster and Hereford (released by the Scots) chose to support them, but were so clearly in the wrong that there was a rally to the king, who was able to collect a considerable force and march north against the two earls. They retreated but were caught and routed at Boroughbridge. Hereford was killed; Lancaster, with Roger Mortimer and many of his adherents, was trapped, and surrendered. Lancaster and a score of the captives were executed, with hardly the pretence of a trial; Mortimer broke prison and escaped to France.

Boroughbridge.

With the royalist victory the Despensers, already back in the country, were restored. Edward imagined that his triumph was complete. A parliament was summoned, which revoked the ordinances of the Ordainers, and made the notable declaration that affairs of state must be dealt with by the king with consent of the prelates, earls, barons, and *commonalty* in parliament. It was precisely in order that the peers might be counterbalanced by the Commons that Edward I. had framed the Model Parliament as he did; the Ordainers had set the Commons aside altogether; now the parliament of 1322 again asserted their right to share in the decisions of the National Assembly.

A Constitutional Parliament.

For a time the king and the Despensers ruled—but with no better success. The Scots raided the north at their leisure. Lancaster's brother Henry had received his earldoms of Derby and Leicester; Hereford and Warwick were dead; Mortimer was in exile; Pembroke died in 1324 and his earldom lapsed to the crown. But Edward and the Despensers were making for themselves an enemy more dangerous because more unscrupulous than any of them—the Queen Isabella, who was violently jealous of the favourites.

THE third of Isabella's brothers, Charles IV., came to the throne of France in 1322. Edward, with sufficient excuse, delayed rendering homage for Aquitaine; but this gave Charles an excuse for declaring Gascony forfeited, and seizing it. Edward had too much on his hands in England to interfere: in 1325 almost the whole province had passed to Charles, and Isabella proposed to visit her brother on an errand of conciliation. The result of her efforts was that Edward invested the young Prince of Wales with the duchy and sent him over to do homage in person. Once in France, the boy remained with his mother; she was now utterly in the hands of Edward's bitter foe, the banished Roger Mortimer; and Charles retained his hold on Gascony.

4. Queen Isabella.

Plots were soon afoot. Isabella, since her brother would not help her, procured the aid of the count of Hainault by plighting young Edward to his daughter Philippa in marriage. Her intrigues won over the king's half-brothers, the children of the first Edward's second marriage, who were now earls of Norfolk and Kent. The Despensers were using their power in England only to add to their own possessions. In September 1326, Isabella and Mortimer landed in Kent—where its earl joined them—proclaiming that they had come to remove the Despensers. No one would move on the king's behalf; many hastened to join the insurrection. The king and the Despensers fled to the west, pursued by the gathering insurgents; in the west they were captured. The Despensers were executed forthwith as traitors; Edward was placed in the custody of Henry of Leicester, brother of the dead Thomas of Lancaster. A full parliament was summoned in January (1327); Edward was forced to abdicate; his son was proclaimed King of England as Edward III.

Edward III.

In fact, Mortimer and Isabella reigned. Edward II. was removed from the charge of Leicester—a too honourable custodian, in whose hands his life was safe—and was murdered in Berkeley Castle some months after his deposition. A council of regency was appointed, since the king was only a boy; but the council was in the hands of the queen-mother and Mortimer, the partner of her guilt; and Mortimer left it to make a pretence of governing while he, like the Despensers, cared only to increase his estates. The leaderless land had fallen so low that the Englishmen in the north quailed before far inferior bands of Scottish raiders; and from sheer feebleness her rulers in 1328 made with Bruce the treaty of Northampton, by which they withdrew all English claims not only to the crown of Scotland but to suzerainty. The independence won fourteen years before at Bannockburn was at last formally ratified —a year before the death of the victor in that battle for freedom.

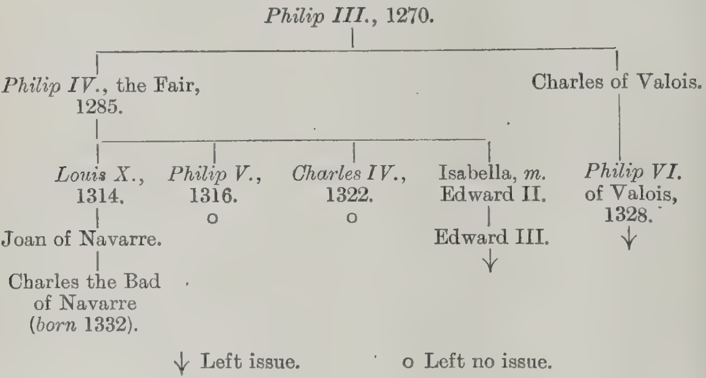
In the year of the treaty Edward married his bride. In the same year Charles IV. died, and the French Estates declared the Valois Philip VI. king of France. Isabella, daughter of Philip IV. and sister of the last three kings, made a claim to the throne not on behalf of herself—no one held that a woman could herself succeed to the crown—but on behalf of her son as the nearest male heir; a rule of succession sometimes followed. (Henry II. had succeeded Stephen in England, though his mother Maud, through whom the title came to him, was living.) But the claim was not pressed, and homage was done for Aquitaine.

The French Succession.

The regency's government was more unbearable than the Despensers' had been. Mortimer, created earl of March, did what he chose. When a pretext was found for executing the earl of Kent in 1330, the nobles drew together against the tyranny. The young king—nearly eighteen and already the father of the boy who was later to be famous as the Black Prince—was eager to throw off the yoke under which he was held and to become king in actual fact. He joined the conspiracy. In October 1330, Mortimer was surprised and seized by night at Nottingham, carried to London, and hanged as a traitor without trial. The long nightmare was over.

Fall of Mortimer.

THE FRENCH CROWN



VI. The Independence of Scotland: 1307-1329.

The Expulsion of the English—Bannockburn—
Ireland and Edward Bruce—Robert Bruce's Legacy.

At the time when Robert Bruce slew the 'Red' Comyn, no one would have dreamed of him as the destined champion of the cause of liberty; it is quite possible that he himself had not dreamed of acting such a part. Comyn's record was much more patriotic than his. But Comyn's death at once removed the one possible rival, as a claimant to the crown and a leader of revolt, and compelled Bruce to stake all on the desperate chance—for there was no possible hope of pardon.

1. Bruce and Comyn.

For Comyn and Bruce, working whole-heartedly together, the chance might have seemed worth trying. That was probably Bruce's original intention. But the murder set up a blood-feud, which drove the whole Balliol and Comyn connection into the arms of the English as the fiercest antagonists of the murderer. Bruce could look for support only from reckless patriots who would follow any leader against any odds. After Pembroke defeated him at Methven he might well have despaired. Nevertheless in the following spring, he and the faithful few set the fires blazing again, and the folly of Edward II. left them to blaze.

The Black Douglas.

Little enough mercy was shown in the war. Year by year Bruce and his lieutenants Douglas and Randolph issued from their retreats in the hills, surprised and cut to pieces the garrisons of castle after castle and levelled the castles themselves with the ground, wherever that could be done, since they could not afford to leave their own troops locked up in them. Every success brought in fresh adherents. But when Edward II., after Gaveston's death, was sufficiently freed from his struggle with the barons to lead an army into Scotland, he found no one to fight against, no fortresses to garrison, and nothing on which to feed his troops, and he retired discomfited. When Edward was gone the onslaughts were renewed. Most famous among the Scots champions was the Black Douglas, whom they called 'the good Lord James.' Many were the tales of the crafty devices by which he and his men made their way unsuspected past drawbridge and portcullis and fell upon garrisons unawares ; or of how a nurse soothing her babe on the castle battlements with lullabies promising safety from the Black Douglas looked up to find the Douglas himself laughing by her shoulder. For he was always gentle and courteous to the defenceless though he showed little enough mercy to Englishmen.

So it was that at the end of 1313 only the three greatest strongholds in Scotland were still in English hands—Stirling, Edinburgh, and Roxburgh castles. And by one of the curious compacts which were possible in the days of chivalry, the Governor of Stirling had pledged himself to surrender if he were not relieved by the next Midsummer Day. Before winter was over, Douglas had captured Roxburgh, he and his men passing the gates as drovers bringing in cattle for the garrison. Before spring was well begun, Randolph with a score of comrades had scaled the precipice-rock of Edinburgh Castle and surprised the garrison in their beds. Only Stirling was left, and that would go unless the rescue came by 24th June. So Edward in 1314 marched over the border with a mighty host, pushing forward with all speed to reach Stirling before the fatal day.

THOUGH Lancaster stood aloof, on the pretext that Edward was making war without having consulted parliament, the army collected was the biggest that had ever been gathered under an English commander, and it was equipped with great magnificence. By common report it numbered 100,000 men. Probably 60,000 would be nearer the mark, judging by the muster-rolls which have actually been preserved. Every one expected the Scots to be wiped out; for this time they were bound in honour to fight, by the Stirling compact; they were not likely to raise more than a third of the English force; their archery was quite outclassed; their cavalry was insignificant, whereas the English mounted men outnumbered the entire Scottish host. And everything would have to be staked on a single pitched battle—for which they had to thank King Robert's hot-headed brother Edward who had given the pledge to the governor of Stirling.

2. The English Invasion.

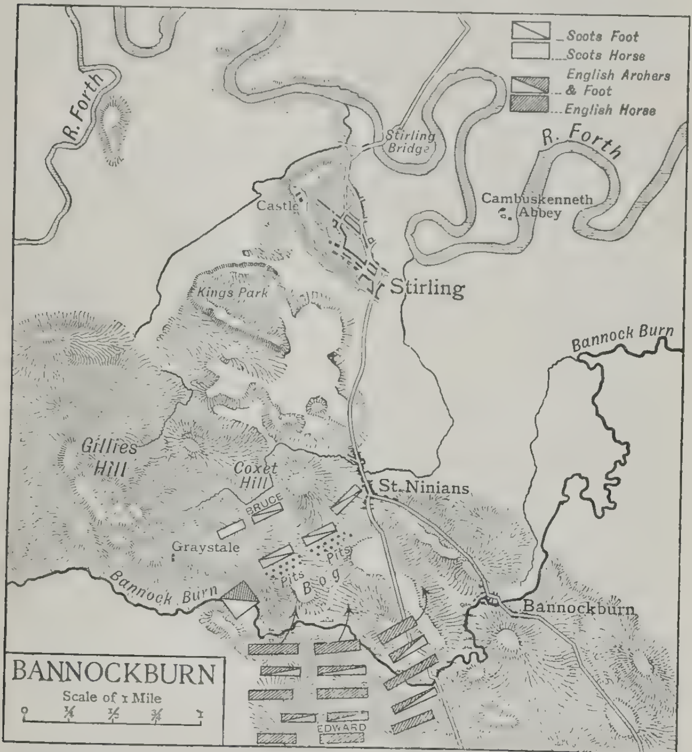
But the English had no skilled commander; Bruce and his captains were experienced leaders, while their troops were veterans who trusted them entirely and would fight to the last gasp. The Scots king knew his own men—and the enemy. He chose his ground at Bannockburn, covering the approach to Stirling: a very narrow front, flanked and partly covered by wood on the one side and boggy ground on the other, destructive to charging horsemen. Where there was not bog, he had prepared hidden pitfalls and strewn caltrops—spikes with the points sticking up. The one thing to be feared was a repetition of Falkirk. Horsemen charging his spearmen would be rushing to destruction—unless the archery broke up the hedge of spears. (There is a doubtful tradition that Bruce had been at Falkirk himself.) But unskilled commanders were pretty certain to believe that they could easily ride down mere foot-soldiery, and to forget that archery, unsupported, at close quarters, were in danger of being cut to pieces.

The Scottish position.

Bannockburn abounds in dramatic incidents even more than Crecy or Poictiers or Agincourt. When the English late in the day came face to face with the Scots—having some twenty-four hours left in which to relieve Stirling—a squadron of cavalry tried to circle round and reach the goal. They almost succeeded, but Randolph with a company of spearmen threw himself in the way, was almost overwhelmed, but in the end hurled them back in rout. As Bruce rode on a palfrey down the front of his forces, a knight from the English ranks charged down on him. Then a sudden swerve of the palfrey, a battle-axe crashing as the charger thundered by—and De

Before the fight.

Bohun lay dead with shattered skull. It was too late to join battle that night. In the morning, as the English prepared to attack, the Scots were seen to fall on their knees. ‘They ask for mercy,’ quoth King Edward. ‘But not of you,’ came the answer from one who knew them; ‘these men will win or die.’



Emery Walker sc.

Bannockburn.

The battle fell out as Bruce had planned. The archers were thrown forward on the English left; the hail of arrows began to fall on the Scottish ranks, when out of the flanking wood burst the small body of Scots horsemen and rode them down; without spears or body armour they were helpless. The masses of English horsemen plunged upon the Scottish front: before reaching it their ranks were thrown into wild confusion as man and horse went down, trampling on caltrops or crashing in pitfalls: when they did reach it, they flung themselves in vain upon the bristling spears. The Scots line heaved slowly forward; the English broke, charged again, broke again. Banners were seen on the slopes of the Gillies Hill on the Scots rear; panic seized the English; defeat became rout, rout turned to headlong flight. There was little pursuit, because the English were mounted and the Scots were not; but there was a great slaughter, though multitudes of prisoners were taken, to be put to ransom, and a vast booty fell into the hands of the victors.

3. After the Victory.

There had been no lack of courage among the English, but there had been the same total want of generalship which we shall find among the French in the days of Crecy and Agincourt, while the Scots leaders were no whit inferior to Edward III., the Black Prince, or even Henry V. But almost in any other days, so tremendous a disaster would only have filled Englishmen with a grim unconquerable resolve to retrieve it. Under Edward II. however the English people had gone to pieces. As we have seen, there was no attempt at retrieval. The English were wiped out of Scotland, though for another fourteen years they refused to acknowledge Robert as king of Scots, while Douglas and Randolph harried the northern counties with bands of light horsemen who swooped hither and thither, pillaging freely and always eluding pursuit. When Edward did make another expedition to the north, as before he could find no army to fight—but his camp was surprised by night, and he barely escaped capture by hard riding; as he had done after Bannockburn. In the time of the Mortimer regency young Edward III. had a like experience; and it was only after this that the regency, to the shame and disgust of the English people, confessed themselves thoroughly beaten by the treaty of Northampton, and 'good King Robert' died the undisputed king of a free nation.

Edward Bruce in Ireland.

But after Bannockburn, Ireland too played for the English a troublesome part in which the Bruces took a hand. The Irish chiefs were always restive under the English supremacy; they saw their chance; the Scots were their kinsmen; the Scots king had shattered the armies of England; the northern chiefs, O'Neill and O'Connor, offered King Robert the crown of Ireland. The wise Robert knew that the rebuilding of his own kingdom was as much as one man could manage; but he had no objection to embarrassing England. He declined the crown for himself, but suggested that his somewhat troublesome brother Edward Bruce — who was ready enough—might suit the Irish equally well. The chiefs were satisfied, and in 1315 Edward Bruce went to Ireland.

The Irish themselves were evidently ready to rally to the Scottish leader — though he was in fact a Norman. But the Norman nobles decided for the English allegiance, joining with the justiciar who was loyal to his sovereign—a tradition maintained from generation to generation by the Butlers of Ormonde. Some of the barons wavered —De Burgh of Ulster was Robert Bruce's brother-in-law—but there were still hot jealousies between them and the ancient clan-chiefs. The struggle became one between Normans, and Irish under Edward Bruce's leadership. It was a war of skirmishes, in which Bruce was generally victorious; but the barons retiring to their castles defied attack. Though Robert himself went over for a brief campaign and Edward was crowned king, nothing decisive was effected till the 'king' was slain in a skirmish in 1317; after which the temporary unity of the Irish broke up, and Ireland fell back into its usual condition. But the contest had revived old antagonisms, and the 'government' became less of a government than ever.

4. King Robert's reign.

King Robert had led the Scottish people in their successful national struggle for independence. From beginning to end, the nation had little for which to thank the nobles who had left Wallace to fight his own battles because he was not one of themselves, or because they saw more personal advantage to be gained by siding with the English—to which it is only fair to add that some of them probably believed that Scotland would benefit by union; which would have been perfectly true had it been—as in 1707—a union by consent and on terms of equality.

When Bruce assumed the leadership, the Comyn blood-feud had carried to the English side some whose traditions would naturally have kept them on the national side. Bruce's successes brought over the waverers but not the king's relentless personal enemies, who in the course of his victories lost their estates and were driven into exile. These 'disinherited lords' were to make trouble in the future. Their estates were, inevitably, bestowed for the most part upon Bruce's most whole-hearted supporters who at the time were a true 'band of brothers': but in the next generation their union fell to pieces. A group of very powerful families had been created; a hundred years passed before Scotland had another strong man on her throne; and Scotland suffered as England also suffered when powerful barons were too strong to be held under control by a weak king. Robert's death had the same sort of effect upon Scotland as the death of Edward I. had upon England, for his heir was an infant.

Independent Scotland.

But whatever the effect on the Scottish baronage, Robert left to the people of Scotland the heritage of unconquerable hostility to foreign domination. It is a mistake to suppose that it was only the Anglicised Lowlands that defied the English; Islesmen and Highland clansmen and Galloway Celts fought beside Bruce at Bannockburn, though in later days Celtic chiefs as well as Lowland barons intrigued with England and resisted the attempts of the king's government to control them. Scotland's troubles were caused by her failure to live up to the principles on which the great king had acted, and which he laid down for her to follow in war and in government.

He had taught her that safety lay not in fighting pitched battles but in his own and Douglas's plan of guerilla warfare, and that if the English were to be defeated in the field their archery must first be wiped off the board. Both lessons were habitually forgotten. Before he died he gave Scotland, as Edward had given England, a parliament in which the Commons had their full share; but the baronage, as under Edward II., usurped the parliament's powers, and in Scotland it did not recover them as it did in England. He created, but he had not time to make permanent, some of the checks on feudalism which were necessary to make government strong and to secure law and order; and because his heirs were unfitted to carry on his work, it was not completed, much of it was wasted, and Scotland paid the penalty in constant strife and turmoil. But much of it and the best of it was not wasted; and the name of Robert I. stands enrolled among those of the great kings who have played a foremost part in the slow creation of the British Commonwealth by the building up of its parts.

VII. A Survey: 1272-1330.

A New Chapter opened—Birth of the House of Commons—Economic Progress.

I. A New Era.

ENGLISH history and Scottish history down to the reign of Edward I. never seem very real to ordinary people; we have picturesque figures in our minds with pretty nursery tales about them, like Alfred and Canute, or tales not at all pretty like the Conqueror and Rufus; romantic figures such as Harold or Becket, or

Cœur de Lion. Even King John at Runnymede and Montfort at Evesham are rather like people in a fairy tale—it is not easy to think of them as men whose sayings and doings made any more difference to us than Giant Cormoran or Jack of the Beanstalk; though each and all of them did something which helped to make our England and our Commonwealth to-day different from what it would have been if they had never lived.

But with Edward comes a change. We have come to people whose reality we feel. Edward Longshanks, the Hammer of the Scots and the creator of the Model Parliament, stalks on to the stage, palpably a maker of the English State. If a cloud of legends still enshrouds Wallace, and Bruce in his early days, Bruce at least comes out into broad daylight as the living and successful champion of Scottish nationality. And the explanation of the change is that now, but not till now, our English nation and our Scots nation have become solid realities; and thenceforth the men who play their parts in the story of the nations are solid realities too.

Scots and English.

While Edward I. and Edward II. were reigning in England, the chance of a union between the two countries, which seemed bright for a moment while the little Maid of Norway was still living, was shattered. But for English arrogance the Scottish Lowlands might have been quietly and peaceably absorbed into the English system, with the Celtic Highlands in much the same position as Wales. As it fell out Edward forced the Scots to assert their separate nationality. England had already become one in speech and law and custom, save for the Welsh and Cornish fringe which hardly affected the rest. Scotland had not been made one, nor did it become one, except when it united to resist a foreign domination. Half of it remained Celtic, half of it a blend of Anglo-Norman and Celt in which the Anglo-Norman predominated, while it never conquered the other half. Highland chiefs remained at feud with each other; Lowland barons did likewise; also the Highlands at large with the Lowlands at large; the one constant ally of the Crown was the Church; but to all, the English were the common foe. The Edwards had established north of the Tweed neither a subject nor a partner nor an ally, but a hostile state which was still unreconciled when more than two centuries had passed.

But the England of the Edwards was an England we can recognise, an England which had become aware of itself as a united nation. The

BATTERSEA PUBLIC

old division or feeling of division into Norman rulers and English subjects had gone. If a few of the greater barons still boasted a pure Norman pedigree, the great majority of the gentry, minor barons, mesne tenants and knights, were of thoroughly mixed descent. If the court talked French, and the peasantry used the language of their forefathers, the speech of the gentry and of those who were in contact with them was as mixed as their descent and was shaping into the English language to which in the second half of the fourteenth century Geoffrey Chaucer gave literary form. From king to villein, from Carlisle to Exeter, every man spoke and thought of himself as an Englishman, and counted Frenchmen and Flemings alike as foreigners.

2. The English Nation.

And Edward I. was the most English of Englishmen. He was a great king because his grand ambition was for the greatness of England. It was the king's office to rule for the good of his people; the king would not be a great king whose people were not prosperous; they would not be prosperous unless the king's government was strong enough to hold all forces of disorder in check; the best thing that could happen to any one was to be under his government. The first thing, then, was for the king to be master in his own house; the second, that being master he should treat the household with even-handed justice; and these two being secured, that the wishes of the whole household should be consulted.

Thus the Church and the earls were brought under the king's control and the gentry and the Commons (with whom they were afterwards combined) were ranged on the side of the Crown by the prominence given to them in parliament. Every one must see that a king who consulted his parliaments so frequently must have his people's welfare at heart.

But while by this means Edward I. got his authority strengthened in some directions, he failed to extend it in others. In particular, parliament proved to be extremely jealous of any attempts on the king's part to raise money for the carrying out of his plans by any means which were not customary and had not received their consent. In such cases the king found he must face the opposition of the Commons no less than of the barons. The male-tolt roused as much resentment as irregular demands for military service. The 'Ancient Customs' were confirmed as the Crown's right; but when further tolls on exports and imports—'New Customs'—were imposed by Edward's authority, they were challenged. When the king raised

Parliament.

increased *tallages*—taxes on the towns which formed part of the royal estates—they were denounced as illegal. Kings in the past, when they wanted more ready money than they could get by taxation, had borrowed (as we saw) from the Jews. Edward, in a moment of religious zeal, made himself extremely popular by banishing all Jews from the country—it was only after three and a half centuries that they were allowed to return. But by this the Crown deprived itself of one way of getting money, and Edward turned to the merchants of Lombardy and Florence who had started the business of money-lending; but in the reign of Edward II. the Ordainers required the Lombards to leave England.

Power of the purse.

Now the merchants complained of the male-tolt and the new customs because that meant taking money out of their pockets; but they—and the barons—were not long in seeing that there was another reason against such practices, and against the borrowing from foreign bankers. These things put money into the pockets of the king: they saved him from coming to parliament with requests for money. If they were forbidden, he would have to come to parliament (since the regular revenues would not pay the cost of foreign wars), and parliament could make its grants of money a matter of bargains; it could air its grievances and insist on their being remedied before making grants. The barons had other means of compelling attention to their own grievances; but here was a means for the Commons—the right of refusing supplies—which would be a most effective weapon whenever the king could not obtain supplies enough for his needs without their consent. All this had not become clear in the time of Edward I., who certainly had not looked for any such consequences of his calling of parliaments: and during Edward II.'s reign full parliaments were given no chance. But in the next reign the foreign wars were so costly that the Commons, finding themselves in possession of the purse-strings, became also aware of a power which they had never enjoyed before, and began to make increasing use of it.

3. Commercial policy.

In casting about for ways and means by which he might make sure of increasing his own revenue, Edward I. proved himself to be one of those wise rulers who grasp the fact that a rich country lightly taxed yields a bigger revenue than a poor country heavily taxed; while the former also makes a contented people and the latter a discontented one. Therefore he took it to be his business to help the country as much as he could to grow rich, though at times the need for ready money led him to make a blunder like levying the male-tolt.

Commerce, the sale of English goods to foreign countries, was encouraged when the merchants knew just what tolls they would have to pay and all the examining and toll-taking was done regularly and in order and as a matter of course. That was one benefit which came out of the Great and Ancient Customs of the Statute of Westminster I.

A mercantile community.

But perhaps the most important thing for commerce and trade was that Edward taught the English merchants to think of themselves and each other as a body of people who had common interests which were more important to each of them than the private rivalries between merchant and merchant and between borough and borough. Whether this was what he intended to do is not quite so clear. But in order to avoid asking parliament for money, he bethought himself of making separate bargains with the merchants, and he reckoned on making a better bargain by dealing with them as a group. Whereby they awoke to the fact that bargains by which they all benefited were better than those by which a few gained and the rest suffered; and so they began to learn the lesson that combination pays better than competition, and to rid themselves of the old false doctrine that if your neighbour prospers it must somehow be at your expense.

Foreign commerce.

Still even at this time English merchants were making no great efforts to find foreign markets for their goods—they were content to let the foreigners come to England to get them, though that state of things was not to last much longer. Foreigners, especially Flemings who were great cloth-makers, wanted English wool; the English had not yet tried to learn to make the better kinds of cloth, but bought the cloth which the Flemings brought; so that there was an active commerce between Flanders and England which brought wealth to both of them, while the tolls that both paid at the ports gave the Crown a useful revenue. There was also a lively trade with Gascony which wanted English goods and had wine to sell—an exchange which did more good to Gascony than to England, but was doubly profitable to the king of England who was also lord of Gascony. We shall presently find that the trade with Flanders and Gascony provided important motives among those which brought about the Hundred Years' War with France.

Merchants and craftsmen.

We must notice however that this growing commerce with foreign countries was making a change in England; it was separating the merchant from the craftsman, increasing the number of people who instead of making the goods they sold bought goods in one place in order to sell them at a higher price in another. And that also gave the craftsman more business, because he was no longer making goods only for the people in his own neighbourhood, but for the merchants as well.

Peasantry.

So the towns flourished; and the country folk also prospered (though we must not forget that there were still few towns in which the majority of the population were not chiefly occupied in the tillage of the town fields). What was most burdensome in the life of the peasant was the compulsory service which he had to render to his lord; but by this time most freeholders had ceased to render services, paying a fixed rent instead. And not only freeholders but villeins, probably the majority of villeins, were allowed in practice to pay rents instead of doing service, while there was a corresponding increase in the number of labourers who received wages for their work.

And finally we may judge that as rents and wages took the place of compulsory labour, the rent-paying villein began to forget that he was not legally free, or at least to feel that it would be a very short step from villeinage to freedom; and that feeling would certainly add to his self-respect and consequently to his enjoyment of life.

CHRONOLOGY

1272-1330.

England. (Kings of England, on their accession, are printed in CAPITALS.)		Scotland, Ireland, and Europe. (Scottish and Irish events are printed in *Italics*.)	
1272-1307.	EDWARD I.	1270-85.	Philip III., king of France.
1275.	Statute of Westminster I.	1273-1291.	Rudolf of Hapsburg, emperor.
1278.	Writ 'Quo Warranto.'		
1279.	Statute of Mortmain.		
1282.	Revolt and death of Llewelyn.	1282.	The Sicilian Vespers. Dynasty of Anjou at Naples and of Aragon in Sicily.
1283.	Subjugation of Wales.		
1284.	Statute of Wales.		
1285.	Statute of Westminster II., 'De Donis.'	1285-1314.	Philip IV., king of France.
1290.	Statute of Westminster III., 'Quia Emptores.'	1286.	*Margaret, Maid of Norway, queen.*

1291.	Arbitration of Norham.	1292-96.	*John Balliol, king; Edward, suzerain.*
1293.	Quarrel with Philip.	1294.	*Scots oppose Edward.*
1295.	Model Parliament.	1295.	*Franco-Scottish Alliance.*
1296.	Annexation of Scotland. Archbishop Winchelsea's quarrel.	1296.	*Edward I., king of Scotland.* Boniface VIII.'s bull 'Clericis Laicos.'
1297.	Edward in Flanders. 'Confirmatio Cartarum.'	1297.	*Wallace's Revolt: Stirling Bridge.*
1298-1307.	Attempt to subjugate Scotland.	1298.	*Falkirk.*
		1298-1305.	*Wallace an outlaw.*
1305.	A Constitution for Scotland.	1305.	*Capture and death of Wallace.*
		1305-78.	Avignon Papacy.
1307-27.	Edward II.	1306.	*Revolt of Robert Bruce* (*king to* 1329).
1310.	The Lords Ordainers.	1307-14.	*Bruce recovers Scottish independence.*
1312.	Death of Gaveston.	1314.	*Bannockburn.*
1322.	Boroughbridge.	1314-28.	Louis X., Philip V., Charles IV., king of France.
1327.	Edward II. deposed and murdered.	1315-17.	*Edward Bruce in Ireland.*
1327-77.	Edward III.	1328.	*Treaty of Northampton.*
1327-30.	Rule of Mortimer and Isabella.	1328-50.	Philip VI. of Valois, king of France.
1330.	Fall and death of Mortimer.	1329-71.	*David II., king.*

LEGISLATION OF EDWARD I.

1272-1307.

(Laws made by Act of Parliament are Statutes. Rules enforced by Royal Authority without an Act of Parliament are Ordinances.)

First Statute of Westminster, 1275, fixes the Ancient Customs, that is, the duties on exports which the king has authority to levy.

The **Writ** *Quo Warranto*, 1278, is issued to ascertain the precise privileges and rights claimed by various barons, and the ground of their claims. All claims sustained from the time of Richard I. are confirmed, but after this no new claims can be put forward without a special enactment.

The **Statute of Mortmain**, 1279, forbids the granting of land to 'corporations' without the assent of the Crown. Since a corporation never dies, lands held by corporations escaped paying the feudal succession duties ordinarily paid to the feudal superior by an heir on succeeding to his predecessor. The special object of the statute was to impose a check on the accumulation of land in the possession of the Church, the greatest of all corporate bodies.

Quia Emptores, or the Third statute of Westminster, required that when a landowner sold land, his lord and not he himself should be the new purchaser's lord: which generally meant that the new purchaser would hold the land directly from the king.

The **Statute of Wales**, 1284, settled the system of government in the newly conquered country. The Welsh government continued to be separate from that of England until the reign of Henry VIII.

The **Model Parliament** of 1295. The prelates and greater barons are summoned personally. The right to the personal summons becomes hereditary and the name of barons becomes restricted to the hereditary peers. The principal cities and boroughs are each to send two elected representatives, and each shire is to send two elected representatives. Certain officials to represent the lower clergy are also at first required to attend, but this practice gradually ceases. The parliament becomes permanently divided into two chambers in 1333.

Confirmation of the Charters, 1297. The earlier charters are confirmed; no new duties are to be imposed except with the common consent of the realm.

THE FORCES: PLANTAGENET TO 1330.

BETWEEN the accession of Henry II. and the death of Henry III. no great change took place regarding the military forces. The institution of scutage—payment in place of military service—enabled the kings to hire troops in place of some of the feudal levies for service abroad, troops which remained with the standard for an agreed length of time or as long as they were paid, instead of demanding to go home when their forty days were over. John was the only king after Stephen who employed mercenaries to any great extent in England; but Richard I. brought in companies of hired cross-bow men—foreigners, because the English hardly used the cross-bow and had not yet learnt to wield the more deadly long-bow. That art was developed in the reign of Edward I., and led to the practice of hiring companies of English archers. The real change in military organisation came with the great French wars of Edward III.

CHAPTER VI

NATIONAL GROWTH: 1330-1400.

I. Before the Hundred Years' War: 1330-1338.

Europe—Scotland—The Approach of War.

EDWARD III. was king of England for fifty years—not quite so long as Henry III.—from 1327 to 1377. During the whole of that time the seat of the Papacy was not at Rome but at Avignon, where it was so much under the influence of France that its own influence everywhere was small. In the year after Edward's death, the Church was rent by the Great Schism and for half a century there were usually two and occasionally three rival popes, so that the Papacy had even less power than during the 'Babylonish Captivity' at Avignon. Italy was at the height of her intellectual activity; in her new-born Art and Literature, no other country came within measurable distance of her, though their influence was being felt elsewhere. But politically the many states of which Italy was composed were taken up with internal dissensions and mutual rivalries. Though she was nominally within 'the empire,' emperors and kings of the Romans (the title now borne by the elected emperor until his coronation in Rome, which did not always take place) no longer attempted to treat her as part of their dominions. Her importance to the rest of the world was not political but intellectual and commercial, because her maritime cities still controlled the Mediterranean Sea and the commerce with the East.

1. Italy and the Papacy.

Though individuals still went on crusade, and western rulers still occasionally dreamed of heading a great crusade when they could spare time for it, the crusading days were over. There was no more movement of Christendom against Islam (the Mohammedan faith), of the Cross against the Crescent. The Christian 'king of Jerusalem' did not rule over a foot of soil in Asia. The masters of the Mohammedan world after the first years of the fourteenth century were the Ottoman Turks or Osmanli, who overturned the power

The East.

of the earlier Seljuk Turks (of whom Saladin had been the greatest). In the fourteenth century, the question was not whether Christendom would recover the Holy Land but whether the Turk would succeed in overwhelming what was left of the 'Byzantine Empire' which stood at Constantinople as the bulwark of the West—while the West was blind to the menace to which it would be exposed if it suffered Constantinople to fall into the hands of the Moslem.

The Empire.

England and France had both become consolidated states with a vigorous sense of national unity. The chance that Germany would do the same had depended upon two things: concentration of control in the hands of the German king or emperor, and the surrender by the emperors of the idea that Italy was to be the centre or even a part of the empire. After the fall of the Hohenstaufen this second condition was ensured; but concentration of control was exactly what the princes of Germany did not want, and in preventing it the elective principle gave them a great advantage.

Rudolf had increased the power of the Austrian House, but the succession to the imperial crown had not remained with the Hapsburgs. Henry of Luxemburg became emperor, and strengthened his House by acquiring the crown of Bohemia—a kingdom which lay outside Germany, but whose king was a seventh Imperial Elector. Then from 1314 to 1347 Lewis of Bavaria held the imperial crown, which after his death went back to Henry of Luxemburg's grandson Charles IV. who died three years after Edward II. His elder son Wenzel succeeded both to the imperial and to the Bohemian crown, and reigned feebly for the rest of the century; while the younger, Sigismund—afterwards emperor — was extending the family connection to the non-German eastern kingdoms of Poland and Hungary. These things which were going on during the fourteenth century were at the time of little moment to the west of Europe; but they have to be recorded in their place here, because these three non-German states on the east of the empire play an important part later in political entanglements which involved both France and England.

Finally we note that during this century the Moors of Spain were penned into the southern kingdom of Granada, while Castile occupied some half of the peninsula with Portugal on the west, Aragon on the north-east and east, and Navarre on the north-west.

IN 1330 when Mortimer fell and young Edward III. became king of England in fact as well as in name, Philip of Valois was king of France.

The king of Scotland was the child David Bruce who had actually been married to the child Joan Plantagenet, Edward's little sister; but the government then and for the next two years was in the capable hands of Randolph who had been appointed to the regency by King Robert on his death-bed. Randolph's great companion in arms, the 'good Lord James' Douglas, had fallen in Spain fighting against the Saracens.

2. England and Scotland.

England then had the opportunity of recovering herself after the twenty-three years during which she had suffered from having either no government or very bad governors. The old turbulent self-seeking nobles were dead. Henry of Leicester, now earl of Lancaster and Derby, and head of the baronage, was an honest man though he had not been strong enough to cope with Mortimer; a capable chancellor was found in John Stratford, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury; the country, as after Stephen's reign, wanted peace and order at home—though it was more than ready to win back in wars abroad the self-respect as a fighting people which it had lost in the Scottish wars of the last reign.

Edmund Balliol.

Now that King Robert was dead, the disinherited lords of Scotland were watching for a chance of recovering what they had lost. The chance came with the death of Randolph in 1332. John Balliol's son Edward, whose claim by descent was of course better than that of the Bruce's, was their figurehead. He appealed to Edward of England for aid. Edward had no lawful excuse for interfering in Scotland after the treaty of Northampton—but he allowed Balliol to collect volunteers and embark from English ports, on the understanding that if Balliol succeeded he would again acknowledge the English suzerainty. Randolph had been succeeded by Mar, an incompetent regent. Balliol landed with his English forces. The Scots had learnt to despise the English; they had forgotten that Bannockburn was won because the English archers were cleared off at the beginning of the fight. At Dupplin Moor they rushed to the attack and were shot down and utterly routed. Balliol was crowned king, and acknowledged Edward as his suzerain.

Halidon Hill.

A few weeks later he was in flight across the border. Whenever the Scots captains adopted the tactics of Wallace and Bruce and Douglas they were successful. But Edward now had a pretext—and the English were eager to support him—for again claiming the suzerainty just acknowledged by King Edward Balliol. He marched into Scotland to restore his vassal. Dupplin Moor was repeated at Halidon Hill (1333). The Scots hurried King David off to France. Balliol was king again. If he had not acknowledged Edward's suzerainty, he might perhaps have been able to stay; but that was more than the Scots would endure. They had no accepted single leader, but many captains who understood the kind of warfare which Bruce had practised in the early days of Edward II. Scotland was no more conquered at Halidon Hill than at Falkirk. Balliol put castles into Edward's hands, but he could neither keep down the subjects who were loyal to David nor keep his own party from quarrelling amongst themselves; and when Edward again invaded Scotland, the Scots did not repeat the blunder of joining in a pitched battle—he could find no army to fight.

Balliol expelled.

By 1338 the attractions of a French war were becoming too strong for the English king; his energies were turned to France; in the next year Balliol was out of Scotland for good and all; in 1341 Edward held nothing but Berwick, and young David was back in Scotland as king and not as Edward's vassal. By that time what is called the Hundred Years' War between England and France had begun; and no king of England ever again had leisure or opportunity to embark on a serious attempt to conquer the northern kingdom. For a couple of centuries Scotland maintained her alliance with France, and kept the northern counties of England in a state of chronic warfare even when the two countries were supposed to be at peace with each other.

3. Reasons for a French war.

When Edward discovered something which he could urge as justifying war with France, he found the baronage and the Commons more than willing to support him. The actual pretext put forward was his claim to the French crown—the claim made on his behalf by his mother Isabella, at a time when, if the actual Salic law were not in force, he was the nearest male heir of Charles IV.; a claim which he had never expressly withdrawn, though he had done homage to Philip for Aquitaine. He was quite ready to drop that claim if he got sufficient compensation for doing so—in fact, what he wanted was not the crown but the compensation—the lordship of all Aquitaine in full sovereignty, free from the suzerainty of the king of France, together with security for freedom of trade between England and Flanders. But the claim to the crown was, in the eyes of most people, a better excuse for going to war than a grievance about commerce or the grievance of a feudatory against his suzerain. Commerce was beneath the notice of princes and nobles and knights. And it was a little awkward for Edward as feudatory duke of Aquitaine to throw off allegiance to his liege-lord the king of France—it was a dangerous example to set before his own feudatories as king of England.

Yet it was becoming evident that unless Edward made the appeal to arms the English trade with Flanders would be ruined, and the duchy of Aquitaine would dwindle away into a petty barony. Save Louis IX. and Philip III., every French king since Philip II. had seized, and generally managed to keep, some slices off the duchy, on some pretext of feudal law. Edward's father had lost half of what his grandfather had held, and all promises of restitution had been left unfulfilled. If Edward I. had himself lost nothing, it was only because he had proved too dangerous an antagonist for Philip IV., and it was at the cost of wars in France which had compelled his departure from England—and Scotland—at times when his presence was much needed.

Flanders.

As to the Flanders trade, Edward was quite alive to its value. The customs duties on it, the tolls on the wool exported to Flanders and on the imported Flemish cloths, were a substantial part of his revenue; and he was threatened with the loss of it. For the count of Flanders was on bad terms both with the king of England and with the burgesses of the Flemish cities, who had strong views as to preserving the rights and privileges of which, as their overlord, he sought to deprive them. He reckoned that he could injure them both by hampering their trade—without realising that his own wealth depended upon the wealth of the cities; and he had his suzerain Philip VI. behind him, since that monarch had fallen into the error—which had not misled the Capet kings—of supporting the nobles against the cities which resisted encroachments on their liberties. Only force would bring the count to reason.

The Flemings, like the English, preferred to feel that the law was on their side. They wanted to fight their count, but it was not clear that he was not within his legal rights as their overlord. With his suzerain, the king of France, on their side, their consciences would be comfortable, but they did not like to join forces with a foreign prince against their liege-lord. But they saw—perhaps they suggested—a way out of their difficulty. If Edward was lawful king of France, the count was his vassal. If he claimed to be lawful king, they could side with him on the plea that he was their overlord's suzerain; if he did not assert the claim, they would be rebels if they joined him. Let him claim the crown of France, and he should have the support of the Flemish cities. There were plenty of lawyers who held that his legal title to succeed Charles IV. had been better than that of Philip of Valois, though the French Estates had chosen the latter.

The Challenge.

Lewis of Bavaria, German king or emperor, had married the sister of Edward's queen, Philippa of Hainault; also he was engaged in a quarrel with the French pope at Avignon, Benedict XII., and therefore was not friendly to the Pope's patron and protector, the French king. In 1337 Lewis and Edward entered on a formal alliance, which pointed to a joint attack on France. Most of the nobles of the Netherlands were feudatories of the empire, not of France, and came in to the alliance. In October Edward renounced his allegiance to Philip, requiring him to resign his crown to himself, Edward, the nephew and lawful heir of Charles IV. The Pope strove in vain to mediate. In 1338 the German alliance was renewed, avowedly to set Edward on the French throne. France and England were plunged into the Hundred Years' War.

II. Deeds of Arms: 1338-1360.

First Campaign: Sluys—Crecy—Calais—Poictiers and the Treaty of Bretigny.

I. The Hundred Years' War.

In the later Middle Ages war was looked upon very much as an exciting pastime; not only by the ruling classes, but by those also from whose ranks the fighting men were drawn—at least when the fighting was going to be done on foreign soil. In England Edward's armies were composed mainly of volunteers serving for pay and the hope of plunder, the rank and file being of the class of free yeoman. For the unfree peasantry, war was another matter; they were merely its unhappy victims whose goods were remorselessly seized or destroyed by the soldiery on both sides. War was equally unpleasant to the townsfolk who were liable to suffer from sieges, or, if they were not defensible, to be looted by passing troops; while even the towns which did not lie on the lines of march found their trade ruined. But these were objections hardly felt in England, because no invading armies came to her shores; townsfolk and villeins were remote from war's ravages. The English people at large entered upon foreign wars with the same light-heartedness as the landed gentry (whose main object was to win a reputation for valiancy)—though they tired of it as of other pastimes when they found it was proving unprofitable.

Edward became a master in the branch of the art of war called 'tactics'; he learnt to handle his troops with the highest skill when they met the foe in battle; but he never understood the other and still more important branch called 'strategy,' the planning of a campaign and the turning of a victory to the best account when he had won it. In the first year of the war, 1339, nothing was done because Philip VI. would not fight a pitched battle. Next year Edward made his agreement with the Flemings from whom he borrowed large sums of money—war being an expensive business. He also won his first important victory, the sea-fight of Sluys, which gave the English complete command of the Channel, so that they could carry troops to and fro as they pleased; for most of the French fleet was either captured or sunk. Their crews were half-crippled by the English archers before the business of grappling the ships together, and boarding, began; so that when the time arrived for hand-to-hand fighting, the English were at a great advantage.

Sluys.

Nothing more however was gained at the time. As before, Philip avoided battle, and the fortresses defied Edward's attempts to besiege them; they were too strong to be captured unless they could be starved out. Before the end of the year a truce was made at Esplechin; for Edward had exhausted his supplies and spent what he had borrowed from the Flemings, with nothing to show for it except the Sluys victory. The disgusted Flemings broke off their bargain, so far as giving him any more active help was concerned; and Edward on returning to England vented his own disappointment in a quarrel with Archbishop Stratford—to which we shall return later. The barons and the Commons supported the archbishop; so that it was as well for the king that there should be a pause in the war.

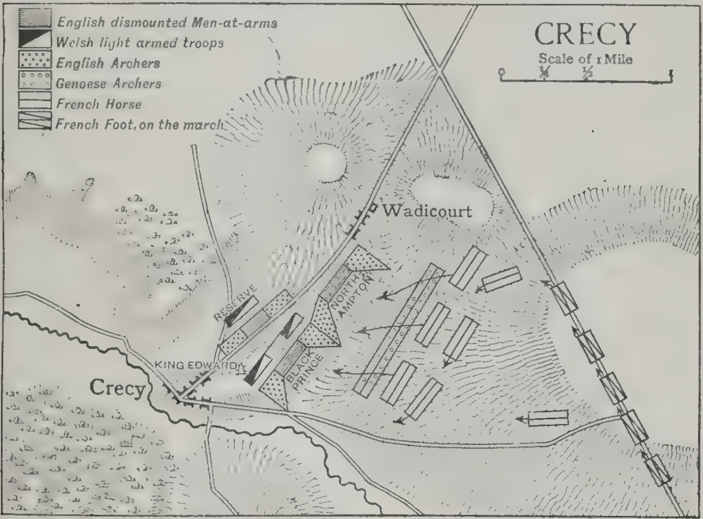
A truce.

Still, fighting did not cease; for there was a disputed succession to the dukedom of Brittany, one side appealing to Edward as suzerain and the other to Philip; and English and French troops took a hand in the contest. So in 1345 the truce broke down, and open war began again—in Gascony this time, since Lewis and the Netherlands princes, as well as the Flemings, had found reasons for retiring; so that Flanders and the Netherlands were no longer at Edward's service.

2. The Crecy Campaign.

In 1346 Edward sailed from England with a strong though not very large force. The campaigning in Aquitaine had opened successfully under a new earl of Lancaster, the son of Henry and nephew of Thomas. But instead of going to Gascony, Edward landed unexpectedly in Normandy, marched through the duchy ravaging, and advanced almost to the walls of Paris.

Meanwhile Philip was drawing together an army much larger than Edward's, who, having no chance of capturing the French capital, began a retreat to the coast. He meant to cross the Somme and make for Flanders, but Philip's superior forces held the right bank of the river. Edward had almost reached its mouth before an unguarded ford was found, known as Blanchetaque, where he succeeded in crossing, and pushed forward with Philip in pursuit. But now he had got the chance he wanted, of forcing a battle on ground chosen by himself, where he could use the novel tactics—taught by Bannockburn and tried successfully at Dupplin Moor, Halidon Hill, and one of the recent fights in Brittany, Morlaix.



Emery Walker sc.

The new principles were: first, that heavily armed infantry should not be broken by any rush of cavalry: secondly, that the English longbow could throw into utter confusion any charging masses of either infantry or cavalry, though if cavalry once got among them the archers would be cut to pieces and be of no more service; thirdly, as a consequence of the second point, that the archers must be able to fall back to cover; and fourthly, that a small body of horse should not be flung against the charge of a large body of horse.

Crecy.

The French had a host of horsemen far outnumbering the English. Edward dismounted all but a handful of his horsemen, and drew them up as two 'battles' or battalions of heavy infantry. Like Bruce at Bannockburn, his chosen position gave him a narrow front with the flanks guarded by ground across which the enemy could not charge or 'turn' his position so as to take him in the rear. They must hurl themselves on that narrow front, relying on their weight to break his line. But between his 'battles' and on their flanks the archers were massed, so that they could pour their arrows upon the charging columns and then fall back behind the spearmen.

The archers' triumph.

Here Edward waited for Philip. On the afternoon of 26th August the French began to arrive. They had with them a mass of Genoese cross-bow men. The cross-bow shot a slightly stronger bolt than the long-bow, but a dozen long-bows could be discharged in less time than two cross-bows. The Genoese began the attack, but were promptly shot down; what was worse, they were ridden down from behind by the impatient chivalry of France, eager to rush upon the English and wipe them out. The mounted columns thundered forward, but the grey-goose shafts rolled horse and man on the ground. Few of them reached the English line, though when they did there was hard fighting. They charged and charged again, but always with the same result. When night fell, the huge French army was shattered; its slain were numbered by thousands. But the English losses were trivial.

Crecy was an overwhelming triumph. Edward had fought and routed thrice his own numbers just as Bruce had routed his father at Bannockburn, only with this difference: Bruce had done it without archers, while for Edward the archers had almost won the battle before the armies came to hand-strokes. Crecy was the death-blow of the old doctrine that the strength of an army lay in its masses of mounted men. It made infantry the supreme 'arm.' instead of cavalry, for every one; while the immense superiority of the English archery gave the English infantry a decisive mastery over that of any other armies.

3. Siege of Calais.

Still the rout of the French did not enable Edward to dictate his own terms to Philip. He could not follow up his victory and fell back to the coast where he laid siege to Calais. He had meant to go straight to England, for his men had had a hard campaign, and his money supplies as usual were exhausted. There were no Jews to borrow from, the Flemings would lend him nothing, and now he could not even turn to the Lombards and Florentines; for quite recently he had borrowed great sums from Florence and then cheerfully announced that he could not afford to pay them back. Still, it struck him that if he could only take Calais and keep it, he would be in possession of a gate through which he could enter France whenever he chose. So he sat down in front of Calais with his army—his ships closed its port—and resolved to starve it out. The French might recover themselves enough to bring up fresh armies, but after the lesson of Crecy they would be in no hurry to attack him on ground of his own choice.

Neville's Cross.

The siege had hardly begun when another useful victory was won—in England this time. David of Scotland thought the opportunity a good one for invading the north of England. But the English fighting temper now was not what it had been in the years after Bannockburn. David's army was routed at Neville's Cross; the young king was taken prisoner, and was not released till eleven years later, when a heavy ransom was paid for his liberation. The siege of Calais went on through the winter, through the spring of 1347, through most of the summer; and still the French armies did not venture to attack the besiegers. At last sheer starvation forced the stubborn burgesses to surrender in August. Edward was so angry at their long resistance—and at the trouble their seamen had given in the past—that he threatened to hang the chief citizens, in spite of the intercession of more generous English nobles and knights such as Sir Walter Manny, and was only at last induced to spare them by the prayers of his queen Philippa of Hainault. Calais was turned into an English town, and remained an English town for a little more than two hundred years.

Fall of Calais.

After the fall of Calais in 1347 another truce was arranged, for both sides were fairly exhausted. But though successive popes too never ceased their well-meant efforts to bring about a real peace, a truce was all that could be achieved. Edward was willing to give up his claim to the French crown if he were given all Guienne and Gascony, together with Calais and the counties of Ponthieu and Artois in the north-east, in full sovereignty; but the French would not give up the suzerainty.

Negotiations for a final peace broke down in 1355. As during the last truce, fighting had been going on all the time in Brittany, and France was being harried by the 'Free Companies' which soldiers of fortune with a reputation as skilled leaders had gathered to their banners, and which lived chiefly by pillage. Philip was dead and his son John 'the Good' was king of France—a poor statesman and a poor general, but a gallant and chivalrous knight. Edward's eldest son, the Black Prince, whom every one regarded as the Perfect Knight, had been sent by his father to govern Guienne and Gascony which had been won over to the English side—he had won his knight's spurs at Crecy nine years before when he was only sixteen and his father was barely five-and-thirty.

4. The war renewed.

In 1356 the king was occupied with the recovery of Berwick which the Scots had captured, and a devastating raid through the Lowlands which is known as the Burnt Candlemas—Edward Balliol had handed over to him his own claim, now quite a hopeless one, to the Scottish crown. He got little enough by his expedition; but meanwhile in France the Black Prince had won a victory even more startling than Crecy had been.

Poictiers.

The prince, like his father, had no plan of campaign, no scheme for capturing and holding strategic points which would give him the command of territory, but he understood very thoroughly the posting and handling of troops when a battle was to be fought. With a force of seven thousand men, mostly Gascons and few of them archers, he raided north from Bordeaux towards Paris. Near Poictiers he came in touch with a French force so much bigger than his own that he would have accepted any reasonable terms to avoid battle, but the French terms were so unreasonable that he resolved to fight. The result was that the great French army was as thoroughly routed as at Crecy; both King John and his youngest son Philip were taken prisoner—and the king of England had the two kings of France and Scotland both captives in his hands (19th September 1356).

Bretigny.

A two years' truce followed, during which negotiations went on. But though France was in a grievous plight, Edward's demands, which now extended to Normandy and Anjou, were so extravagant that though the captive king accepted them, the acting government of France preferred fighting to the last gasp. In 1359 Edward again ravaged through France with fire and sword, but with no more advantage to himself than he had gained in Scotland by the Burnt Candlemas. At last the counsels of his more moderate advisers prevailed and the Black Prince dictated a peace, known as the treaty of Bretigny (1360), which the French accepted.

It gave to Edward all and more than all he had demanded before the

Poictiers campaign—the whole of Aquitaine, with Calais, Ponthieu, and the Channel Islands, and a large ransom for King John. The French alliance with the Scots and the English alliance with the Flemings were to cease. The king of France was to surrender his suzerainty over the ceded territories; the king of England was to withdraw his claim to the crown of France. The treaty was signed by both parties—only the signature of the last clauses was put off, and in fact was never carried out. But it seemed that the war was over, and Edward had won everything for which he had really been fighting.

III. Progress and a Set-Back: 1330-1360.

Parliament—Commerce: the Staple—Commerce: Englishman and Alien—The Black Death, and after.

Sluys and Crecy and Poictiers were brilliant feats of arms which dazzled all Europe; they have been recorded by the most picturesque of historians, the Frenchman Froissart, who revelled in deeds of knightly daring, glitter of armour and clashing of steel, and wrote of it all so gaily and vividly that most people can only think of Edward III.'s reign as one gorgeous pageant of military glory. The glory went dim enough in his later years; but even when it was in full blaze, other things were going on which were of no less importance in 'our great island story.'

1. Parliament.

This was the reign which established the parliament that Edward I. had created and the baronage had very nearly set aside in the time of Edward II. But parliament with its elected knights of the shire and burgesses gave the king his best security against the usurpation of power by the great barons—as its creator had foreseen. The dangers of such usurpation had been made clear in the last reign, and the practice of calling full parliaments was revived and continued till it became a matter of course that when a parliament was summoned it should be a full one. Also, the methods of parliament became regular. After 1333, the knights of the shire and the burgesses always assembled in one chamber and sat and voted together as the Commons; the peers each of whom was summoned by right of birth, and the churchmen each of whom was summoned by right of his office—the lords temporal and the lords spiritual—met in another chamber as the Peers; and about the same time, or it may be a little later, the lower clergy ceased to be summoned to parliament, but the churchmen held their own separate assembly or Convocation for dealing with their own affairs and at the same time such affairs of State as were brought before them. The name baron ceased to be used for any tenants-in-chief except the hereditary peers of parliament.

The cost of war.

But though the Commons served as a safeguard for the king against the barons as a separate class, Edward I. had found that parliament as a whole, Peers and Commons together, could make a stand against any exercise by the king of powers which they regarded as illegal. If they united in refusing extra supplies themselves and denouncing as illegal his plans for exacting more money, he must persuade them to give their consent by way of bargain; whereas before there had been full parliaments, peers and gentry and townsfolk had not been able to combine all over the country to oppose the king's will.

The parliaments of Edward III. were able to make this unpleasantly clear to him, because of the perpetual need of money in which he stood on account of his wars—the more since he could not compel either feudal levies or shire levies to serve oversea except on special terms; while even before Crecy he had such a bad character as a debtor that no one would risk lending to him. He could only get money by asking parliament for it. And neither Peers nor Commons would grant it without what they considered sufficient reason, or if they had grievances which he refused to meet. It was the money question above all which gave the Commons their new power; the king could not get on without supplies from them, the Peers were bound to maintain their legal right to refuse supplies, and so if the king quarrelled with the Commons over money matters, there was no one to support him. And at the same time if he quarrelled with parliament over a question of his legal rights on which they were agreed, he was helpless, because he knew he would get no more supplies till he gave way on the point.

Maintaining the Law.

This was very thoroughly brought home to Edward as early as 1341 by his dispute with Archbishop Stratford, mentioned above. He had slipped away secretly from Flanders to escape his creditors there, had come back to England in a very bad temper, and accused the archbishop of having, as chancellor, misused the king's money. He summoned Stratford to answer the charges before the Royal Courts of Justice. For dealing with questions between the king's subjects, those courts could be relied on as absolutely fair, but not for settling questions between king on one side and his subjects on the other; for the judges were the king's officers whom he could appoint or dismiss at his own pleasure. Stratford refused, claiming the legal right to be tried not by the Royal Courts but by his Peers, as laid down in Magna Carta. The barons supported him, and the king had to give way—if he had not given way, he could not have got the money grant of which he was in dire need.

New Statutes.

We may note here that in 1351 and 1353 two statutes were passed to check the authority of the Pope in England, called the Statutes of *Provisors* and *Praemunire*; the first to stop the Pope's habit of 'providing' high ecclesiastical appointments for foreign priests in England, and the second to 'warn' (*praemunire* in the latin of the time) the king's subjects against appealing to the Pope as if his decisions were of higher authority than those of the English courts. Another 'Statute of Treasons' in 1352 sought for the first time to define the crime of treason to the Crown, and to declare what offences were to be included as treason. These statutes, and some others of which we have still to speak, were all passed during the truce between the fall of Calais and the Poictiers campaign.

2. Commerce.

EDWARD III., like his grandfather, was anxious to increase foreign trade, partly that the country might be more wealthy, partly because of the money he made out of it himself by the customs duties on goods passing into and out of the country at the ports. So in his time we find the king's government actively regulating trade instead of leaving it entirely to private enterprise. The objects in view were: to increase the general wealth; to increase the king's revenue; to foster home industries so as to make the country independent of supplies from abroad; and to exchange English goods not for foreign goods which Englishmen ought not to want, but for foreign money, 'treasure,' so as to get as much silver and gold into England as possible. As a matter of fact, silver and gold are as much 'goods' as anything else, but they were the particular kind of goods which England stood in need and could not herself produce.

The Staple.

The great measure which was intended to attain the two first of these aims is called the Ordinance of the Staple (1354). It was not a statute passed by parliament but an order made by the king in consultation with the small council of personal advisers formed mainly of the chief officers of state and lawyers, since it was reckoned as part of the king's 'prerogative' to regulate trade by his own authority so long as he did not add to the tolls and taxes. It was ordained that certain kinds of goods—those which foreign merchants wished to buy for export, principally wool and hides—should be sold only at certain particular towns, each of which was connected with a particular port. These goods came to be known as staple goods, and the chosen towns as staple towns. The only people who might deal in these goods were the merchants who joined an association known as Merchants of the Staple—any one might join it on payment of a fixed fee, but he was bound to obey the regulations of the association. Further, the goods might be exported only to particular cities abroad with which agreements had been made—clearly it was worth while for foreign towns to bargain for the right of having the English goods exported to them, and Calais profited greatly by always being one of them; just as the staple towns in England profited by being the only ones in which those goods could be bought or sold.

Object of restriction.

It is not so easy to see at once why it should be expected that the whole trade would be increased by limiting it to particular towns and particular people. The point was, that it made it much easier to keep the goods under inspection, to see that the traders obeyed the regulations, and (from the king's point of view) to collect the duties. Buyers knew that what the officers of the association had passed was right in quality and quantity, and the detection and punishment of any sort of trickery or underhand dealing were sufficiently ensured. The goods were, so to speak, guaranteed not to be below a certain standard, and that made the foreigner more ready to buy them than if he had had to take his chance of buying poor stuff with very little prospect of redress if he was cheated. So more goods altogether were sold. And at the same time single merchants did not suffer—if a man wanted to trade in the staple goods it cost very little to become a Merchant of the Staple and enjoy all the benefits of membership. Before the association existed there were all sorts of difficulties in the way of his trading with a foreigner which were removed when he had the association at his back.

Moreover the increasing demand abroad for English staple goods encouraged in the English merchant the idea that he would do more business if he went in search of customers than if he waited for them to come to him; and he began to strive vigorously for admission to trade in the foreign towns which were as jealous of the competition of aliens as the English themselves.

In order to get money rather than goods in exchange for goods, foreigners with goods to sell were required to buy more goods than they sold. That was intended on the one hand to bring in money, and on the other to check the purchase of foreign goods by Englishmen so that they might buy goods which were produced at home instead. Still there were things which Englishmen wanted, and could not make, but which they could get from the foreign merchant. The foreigners, especially the merchants of the German Hansa, had to be admitted (though their trading was hampered by all sorts of restrictions), because it was only through them that these goods could be obtained. But then as now, the Englishman objected to being undersold by a foreign competitor, and tried to shut him out of the market by taxes which were added on to the price of his wares. If he could, he would have admitted the foreigner only as a customer and not as a seller—but he wanted the wares, because he could not get them of the same quality at home. Besides, the foreigner had just the same desire to buy English goods only on condition that he sold more of his own wares. But in the reign of Edward III. the English were beginning to discover the true remedy, which was not to shut the foreigner out but to produce the wares himself better and more cheaply. Edward himself saw this, and by bringing Flemish weavers over to England he enabled Englishmen to learn from the Flemings how to make woollen cloths as good as their own. The result of this was that presently, instead of the English wanting to buy cloth in great quantities from Flanders, foreigners were wanting to buy English cloth in preference to the Flemish. And so cloth-making was added to the great English industries. For the English had the advantage of growing the wool for the cloth-makers in their own country.

3. The foreign trader.

So it was beginning to be with other industries also. Better goods than the English made were wanted, and they could be got from the foreigner in spite of all the difficulties which were put in the foreigner's way. People would not buy the inferior English goods. But the idea began to filter into the Englishman's mind that it was worth while to try whether after all he could not beat the foreigner at his own game by turning out wares which would satisfy his English customers. When he began really to try, he also began to succeed, and when he succeeded he found an ever-increasing number of customers; and the more the foreigner tried to compete with him the more vigorously and successfully he competed with the foreigner; though he never ceased to complain, while his own trade grew, that the foreigner was taking the food out of his mouth.

Imported industries.

While England was entering upon a new career of commercial activity, the whole country and indeed all Europe was suffering from a terrible calamity which was especially disastrous to the rural population; an epidemic of that very deadly disease which is sometimes called the Plague, but at this time was commonly known as the Black Death. It came to England in 1348 and 1349, and again—though not so severely—a few years later. As elsewhere, it devastated the land. In the course of its ravages more than a quarter, possibly one-half, of the population perished; whole families were wiped out; here and there whole villages. Few of those whom it attacked survived; most were dead within twenty-four hours of the first seizure. It did not spare the well-to-do, though no doubt they suffered the least; those who suffered most were the country parsons—half of them died—who stuck bravely to their posts and went about among the dying, giving them the last services of the Church.

4. The Black Death.

Vast numbers of the country folk perished; the fields were left untilled and famine followed the pestilence. The people cried for bread, but those who had it would only sell it for a high price. The landowners wanted labour, that they might grow corn, but the labourers who were left would only work at a high wage; high wages meant high prices, and high prices meant starvation unless the wages were high.

Then the government stepped in, with the Ordinance of Labourers. Bread was to be sold at the old prices, and labourers were to be paid the old wages; every one who gave or took more for bread or for labour was to be punished. But the ordinance could not be enforced. And then came the second step, the Statute of Labourers, in 1351. The villeins who had been allowed to exchange services for rent must return to the old conditions and give services again instead of rent. They were bound to the soil, and might not leave their lord's land to seek wages elsewhere. The statute only put in force the lords' legal rights; unless they had given formal agreements, they were not bound to go on accepting rents instead of services. The labourers were for the most part legally in villeinage and there was no escape for them. If there had been agreements releasing them, they could not produce them. For fifty or a hundred years they and their fathers and grandfathers had been allowed to forget that they were not free. and now they suddenly found themselves flung back into serfdom.

Statute of Labourers.

Matters were far worse in France, where the serf, even at the best of times, was much more at the mercy of his lord than the English villein ever was. The miseries of the French peasantry were so terrible after the Black Death that a year or two before the treaty of Bretigny they rose in a savage revolt against their lords which was crushed with a like savagery; it was known as the Jacquerie, because much as we call the farm-labourer 'Hodge,' or the soldier a 'Tommy,' the French called the peasant 'Jacques Bonhomme.'

The Jacquerie.

Such horrors as those of the Jacquerie have never been known in England. The wildest revolutionists here have never behaved like savages nor been crushed like wild beasts. The peasantry in England did not rise in revolt after the Black Death. But the Statute of Labourers stopped the natural movement towards personal freedom among the serfs which had been going on peaceably for a century and a half and flung them back into the servitude of the earliest Plantagenet days. And such servitude is more bitterly resented by men who have enjoyed freedom all their lives than by men who have been born and bred in it for generations. It sets them asking, 'Why should there be serfs at all?' And the English peasant could get no answer which satisfied him.

A dangerous temper.

IV. The Days of Failure: 1361-1375.

Scotland and Ireland—Aquitaine—Defeat.

For some years after the treaty of Bretigny there was peace. On the Scottish side the degenerate David Bruce had been released in 1357 and had returned to Scotland. Edward had not in the strict sense broken the treaty of Northampton by recognising Edward Balliol as king of Scots and receiving homage from him, or perhaps by asserting for himself the title to the crown which Balliol had chosen to hand over to him. But he had learnt that Scotland was not to be conquered by force of arms, and David's restoration as an independent king was purchased by the promise, and part payment, of ransom. The Northampton treaty barred Edward from claiming suzerainty over him. When the Scots failed to pay the rest of the ransom, Edward's threats frightened David (who had no children) into promising the Scottish succession to Edward's second son, Lionel of Clarence. But the Scottish parliament or Estates flatly refused to confirm a pledge which the king had no legal authority to give. A part of the ransom was paid, and when David died in 1371 his nephew

1. Scotland: David II.

Robert Stewart (hereditary High Steward of Scotland) came to the throne as Robert II., the first king of the House of Stewart.

Robert II., Stewart.

This Robert was the son of Robert Bruce's daughter Marjory, who was many years older than David, and had married Walter Fitzalan, the High Steward, one of the Norman barons of Scotland who had fought loyally on Bruce's side. But the family were always known not by the old name of Fitzalan but as the Stewards or Stewarts.

Ireland.

In Ireland the lack of government outside the Pale had continued ever since the Irish had lost their leader by the death of Edward Bruce. When challenged by the brother of the king of Scots, the Norman barons in Ireland had stood by the king of England's sovereignty, but they did not submit to the rule of the king's justiciar; and in 1361 Edward's son Lionel was given the governorship, in order that it might be strengthened. He was made duke of Clarence, as the Black Prince had been made duke of Cornwall—before this, no English noble had borne the title of duke, which was now bestowed only on members of the royal family. Clarence tried to restore order in Ireland by means of a law called the Statute of Kilkenny, which was intended to keep the English or Normans distinct from the Celtic Irish, by forbidding them to marry Irish women or to adopt Irish customs or the Irish speech; but it failed hopelessly, and from this time the Normans in Ireland rapidly became—in a famous phrase—*Ipsis Hibernis Hiberniores,* more Irish than the Irish themselves.

The restoration of order in England in 1330 had been followed by the settling down of Wales; the Welshmen had played a useful part as light-armed reserve troops at the battle of Crecy, and Wales gave no serious trouble in the reign either of Edward or of his successor Richard II.

2. France.

In France both sides took it for granted that Edward's claim to the French crown and John's claim to suzerainty over Aquitaine were alike withdrawn. John was set at liberty, but when he found that the French (like the Scots) were failing to pay up the ransom, his own nice sense of honour compelled him to return to his captivity in England where he died in 1364. Though not an over-wise man, he was a very gallant gentleman. Ill as he and his father had fared in their wars with Edward, the French crown had made further gains; for both Dauphiné (the northern part of Provence) and the duchy of Burgundy passed to the French Crown through failure of heirs. The Crown Prince of France had borne the title of duke of Normandy for the last hundred years, but now Dauphiné became his regular heritage and he is always from this time called the Dauphin. Burgundy was bestowed by John upon his youngest son Philip—his second son Louis had Anjou; and presently Philip increased his estates by a marriage which brought him the county as well as the duchy of Burgundy (called also Franche Comté) besides counties in the Netherlands, all held not from the king of France but from the emperor as suzerain, so that the duke of Burgundy became as powerful as the count of Anjou had been in the days of Henry II.

Charles V.

John's departure to England left the French government in the hands of the dauphin who became King Charles V. in 1364. He had hard enough work before him, for there had lately been a great revolt in Paris which had been put down with much difficulty; the Black Death had wrought havoc, and was still to work more; the Jacquerie had added to the tale of woes; and the French 'free companies' were still roaming about the country, though the English leaders and their bands had gone off, like the famous Sir John Hawkwood, to win fresh renown in the service of other states (chiefly in Italy) which were in want of soldiers. The skill with which Charles carried out his task, restored order in his devastated land, and built up again the power of France, won him his honourable title of *le Sage*, 'the Wise.'

The Black Prince.

Meanwhile King Edward had sent the Black Prince to Bordeaux to take charge of his great dominion in France as Prince of Aquitaine. But while Guienne and Gascony had always been loyal to their English duke, many new vassals were brought under Edward's rule now that he was lord of all Aquitaine; and the new vassals did not relish the new lord who was more anxious to advance the prosperity and the liberties of the towns than to respect the privileges of the nobles. But if they were ill-content, they had as yet no opportunity for resistance.

The Spanish Campaign.

Then the opportunity came. The king of Castile at this time was Pedro, deservedly called 'the Cruel.' His iniquities encouraged his half-brother Henry of Trastamare to seek to deprive him of his crown. Pedro appealed to the chivalry of the Black Prince to come to his aid against the traitor. At the same time Charles was encouraging the free companies to take service with Henry of Trastamare against a tyrant, as a convenient way of getting them out of France. The prince answered the appeal; he raised a force in Aquitaine, carried it over the Pyrenees, and shattered Henry's forces at Navarrete or Najera (1367) before the great French soldier Bertrand du Guesclin had had time to train them.

But the prince's own health was shattered. The campaign had exhausted his treasury, and he was heavily in debt. In spite of promises he could extract no repayment from Pedro who had got all he wanted. From sheer necessity, he laid a heavy tax upon every household in Aquitaine. Thereupon the disaffected barons appealed to King Charles. He had never actually renounced his suzerainty, because Edward had never formally renounced his claim to the crown. Charles as suzerain summoned the Black Prince to answer the charges of his vassals. Edward replied by resuming the title of king of France (1369).

3. War in Aquitaine.

But Edward had grown as feeble as an old man, though he was still far short of sixty. The prince was prostrated by mortal sickness, though he had still some years to live. The French had learnt that they must fight the English after the fashion of the successful Scottish leaders, not in pitched battles but by harassing their forces and cutting off their supplies. The hearth-tax drove more than half Aquitaine to the French side. The Black Prince captured Limoges, which had revolted; and he massacred its inhabitants, including women and children, without staining his reputation as the Mirror of Chivalry; but that was almost his only success. In 1371 he returned to England, worn out in body and mind. His place in Guienne was taken by his eldest surviving brother (Lionel of Clarence was dead), John of Gaunt, who had none of the Edwards' military skill, though he fancied himself a great warrior.

Defeat and failure.

Disaster followed disaster. The new French methods were so successful that a new commander, Pembroke, was sent from England, with a fleet and large reinforcements, to take John of Gaunt's place. But meanwhile Pedro the Cruel had fallen, Henry of Trastamare had secured the crown of Castile, and Henry naturally allied himself with the French king who had given him help against the English who had overthrown him in a quarrel with which they had no concern. A Castilian fleet met the English fleet off La Rochelle (1372), shattered it, and took Pembroke prisoner. No more troops could get to Aquitaine from England, and the English parliament in its wrath refused supplies for another expedition without security against such scandalous mismanagement. And still more and more of Aquitaine passed into French hands.

Yet there was to be one more effort. John of Gaunt who had returned to England was furnished in 1373 with an army which invaded the north of France from Calais—it could not get to Guienne by sea—and marched southward for Bordeaux, ravaging what there was to ravage. But he found the country cleared before him, Scots fashion; and, Scots fashion, Du Guesclin hung on his rear, cutting off all supplies, raiding his camp, but always avoiding an engagement. Only a fragment of his army reached Bordeaux. To continue the struggle was useless, and in 1375 England accepted the truce of Bruges, which left her Calais but less of Aquitaine than Edward had possessed at the outbreak of the war in 1338.

V. The Black Prince's Brothers: 1376-1381.

The Sons of Edward III.—The End of Edward III.—The Accession of Richard II.—The Peasant Revolt—The Passing of Villeinage.

I. The Seed of Edward III.

The truce of Bruges in 1375 is a sort of turning-point in the Hundred Years' War. For nearly forty years there had been almost continuous fighting between French and English, with intervals of short and ill-kept truce. Now there were to be forty years during which no big attack was made by either upon the other though there were occasional breaches of the truce. For at this time also England was at the beginning of a new phase of domestic politics, the era of what are called dynastic struggles in which different branches of the royal family were trying to get the mastery—and sometimes the crown itself—into their own hands; and the same thing was going on in France.

There had been a sort of foreshadowing of this in the reign of Edward II., when the king's cousin Thomas of Lancaster, the son of his father's brother, had led the baronial opposition, and tried to get for himself not the crown but control over the government. Now in like manner we are going to see a young king's uncles and cousins trying to get control over him, while finally one of the cousins deposes him and takes the crown for himself, just when the century is coming to an end. But the rivalry among members of the royal family began not with the accession in 1377 of a boy who was too young to rule, but with the failure in mind and body of the king who in middle age had won renown as the greatest warrior of the time. When Edward actually died, his death made no real difference to any one.

Since these rivalries enter into everything that was going on for some time to come, it will make our story much easier to follow if we pause here to clear up the persons and the families concerned.

We are not going to meet the old Bohuns and Bigods and Warennes and Clares of Gloucester who had led the barons in the past. Their families had come to an end and their earldoms and estates passed to others through the marriage of heiresses: though we have not done with the Mortimers. We shall find that most of the great earldoms have come into the hands of the royal family, the sons of Edward III.

The heir.

The first of those sons, Edward the Black Prince, knew that he had not long to live. The heir to the throne was his young son Richard, who in 1375 was only eight years old. The king's second son, Lionel duke of Clarence, had died leaving no son, but his daughter was married to Edmund Mortimer, earl of March. Therefore if Richard should die the Mortimers would have a claim to the succession.

Lancaster.

The third son was John of Gaunt (that is, Ghent in Flanders where he was born), another, William, having died young. John had very great estates; he had married Blanche of Lancaster, the heiress of the earldoms of Lancaster, Derby, and the rest which had once been Thomas of Lancaster's; and he had been made duke of Lancaster when Lionel was made duke of Clarence. The only other duke now was the Prince of Wales who was duke of Cornwall as well. John had a son Henry (often called Bolingbroke, because he was born there) who was the same age as Richard (from whom, later, he took the crown of England). When this boy grew up he married Joan de Bohun, one of the Bohun heiresses, who brought him the earldom of Hereford.

York and Gloucester.

Fourth was the amiable but feeble Edmund 'of Langley,' at this time earl of Cambridge, better known by his later title as the first duke of York. Fifth, and by many years the youngest, was Thomas 'of Woodstock,' now barely twenty, and just married to another Bohun, who brought him the earldom of Essex; a year or two later he became earl of Buckingham, and later still was made duke of Gloucester. It will be most convenient however always to speak of these three brothers as Lancaster, York, and Gloucester, and of Lancaster's son Henry as Hereford till his father's death. He of course did not appear actively on the scene for some years. His wife and Gloucester's were sisters.

2. Anti-clericalism.

When things go wrong some one has to be blamed, and it is not always the right person. For a long time Edward had chosen churchmen as his ministers to carry on the business of the State. On these clerical ministers the parliament laid the blame for the breakdown in Gascony. Lancaster was jealous of their influence, and eager to shift all blame from his own shoulders, and on his return to England he headed the anti-clerical faction; but the clerical ministers had already been turned out, and the laymen who had taken their places were not improving matters. The dying Black Prince, together with Mortimer, who suspected Lancaster of wishing to get the crown for his own family when Edward should die, took the side of the clergy. Encouraged by them, the Commons attacked the government, and charged one of its officers, Lord Latimer, with 'peculation'—using for his own ends the money entrusted to him—in 1376.

The Good Parliament.

This is the first instance of a practice of which we shall hear more, called Impeachment: when the House of Commons formally brings charges against a public servant, before the House of Lords as judges. 'Impeaching of treason' merely means making a public accusation of treason; but when we speak of 'impeachment' or say that a minister 'was impeached,' it always means the same thing, that the House of Commons as a body made the accusation against him before the House of Lords sitting as a Court of Justice. Impeachment was for some centuries the weapon with which the House of Commons (not parliament generally) struck at a minister whom they looked upon as dangerous.

This parliament, which is known as the Good Parliament, made other demands; before it was dismissed, it was led to believe that they would be satisfied. But while it was sitting, the Black Prince died. Lancaster was powerful enough so to manage matters that a new parliament was elected which was full of his supporters. It withdrew the demands which the Good Parliament had made, and agreed to provide money by a 'poll-tax,' which meant that each person in the country had to pay a groat (fourpence, which was then worth about as much as ten shillings now).

But the clergy in Convocation refused to make any grant, and then there was a very unseemly struggle between Lancaster and the churchmen who were headed by the bishop of London. Lancaster however had on his side a famous teacher and preacher, John Wiclif, who had been calling in question the authority of popes and bishops, and was already looked on by many as a 'heretic' holding false doctrines of religion. The quarrel actually led to a riot in the great London cathedral, St. Paul's, which showed both parties the need of restraining their followers and patching up a sort of truce. And then in the summer (1377) the old king died—men seem almost to have forgotten that he was there—and Richard II., his ten-year-old grandson, reigned in his stead.

Edward's death.

On the accession of the boy-king, we find the magnates once more acting on their own account. They came to terms with each other, and appointed a Council of Government in which the two parties were carefully balanced, the one led by Mortimer and the other by the earl of Arundel, the young king's uncles standing on one side. Lancaster wished to remove the suspicion that he had any intention of disloyalty to his nephew. But by this time French and Castilian ships had the mastery of the 'Narrow Seas' between France and England, Du Guesclin was raiding Aquitaine, and something had to be done—which required a grant of money.

3. The New Government.

A parliament was summoned, and its temper proved to be that of the Good Parliament. It felt that it was bound to provide money, but only on condition that it should not be wasted. Its authority must be recognised; it must not, like the Good Parliament, have its Acts set aside; and it must have sound business men—two London citizens—to look after the expenditure. On those terms the Commons made the necessary grant. But though a private fleet equipped by one of the new treasurers did good work in the Channel, other attempted operations were generally failures. The Council was not working well. Successive parliaments in 1379 and 1380 voted more money, ordered a new poll-tax, and then another which was much heavier, and scolded the Council. But there was no improvement: and in fact unexpected trouble was brewing.

The poll-tax was meant to be fair; the rich man was to pay much more than the labourer. But each township or manor was to raise the tax from its own people and pay a shilling for every one over sixteen, taking not less than a groat nor more than six pounds from any one, according to rank; but the average of a shilling a head had to be made up whether the township was rich or poor. Thus the poorer villages were hit much harder than those which were

The poll-tax.

flourishing. Ever since the Statute of Labourers discontent had been seething among the villeins, and the freemen who were liable to service; and the free rent-paying peasantry sympathised with them. There were grievances from which they all suffered, dues which had to be paid to the lord for permission to do one thing or another; reasonable from the lords' point of view, but not from the peasants'. That they were customary, and had been exacted as a matter of course for centuries, made no difference; it did not prove that they were just. Every one ought to be free and equal; somewhere in the far-off ages there had been a time when every one was free and equal:

'When Adam delved and Eve span,
Who was then the gentle man?'

So ran the popular rhyme. And how would the gentleman have fared if there had been no English yeomen with their long-bows at Crecy and Poictiers?

Perhaps matters would not have come to a head if there had been no poll-tax, for the country was recovering from the effects of the Black Death, and it was only owing to the pestilence that the condition of the peasantry had again become one of real hardship. But the poll-tax gave just the extra impulse that was needed to produce an explosion.

4. Revolt of the peasantry.

According to the story, Wat the Tiler of Dartford broke the head of a tax-gatherer who insulted his daughter. It was a tiny spark, but it kindled a conflagration. In a fortnight the peasantry, villeins or freemen, were up in arms all over Kent and Essex, marching on London. Most of them wanted nothing but to have their real grievances remedied—freedom from services, from serfdom, from unfair exactions for which the only justification was that they were customary. A few of them had ideas of overturning government by the upper classes altogether and ruling the country themselves; most of them were ready to believe that if Lancaster and some others, whom they imagined to be bloodthirsty tyrants, were properly punished, all would be well.

The Kent men found London Bridge blocked at first and could not cross the Thames; but the Essex men arrived in great force at Mile End on the north of London, where nobody knew what to do, on 12th June (1381). Next day, sympathisers opened the bridge gates, and the Kentish insurgents poured in. The young king (he was fourteen now) was in the Tower; Lancaster was absent, but the mob burnt his palace, and the prisons. Still they were kept in hand by their leaders; they were not rebels, but loyal subjects who wanted to go home as soon as they were sure of having their grievances remedied.

King Richard.

Richard boldly went the next day to Mile End to make terms with the insurgent leaders, and made promises. But meanwhile the wilder spirits in London had broken out, forced their way into the Tower, and killed some unpopular officials, while no one had offered resistance. As usually happens, the real revolutionists were probably the cleverest and most energetic of the insurgents and meant to turn the rising to their own ends. Richard called another conference next day at Smithfield.

The small royal party found the insurgents drawn up, in arms. The leader, who is known as Wat Tyler, came out to meet the king. Something he said or did caused William Walworth, the mayor of London, who was by Richard's side, to draw his dagger and strike Tyler down. The peasants saw the blow; a cry ran down the ranks, 'They have slain our leader!' Bows were bent; when Richard, before any one realised what he was doing, dashed forward alone, reined up before the rebel ranks, and cried, 'I will be your leader! Follow me!' and began pacing his horse towards the open fields. And the whole assembly, fascinated, did follow him. What he said or did is not known, but certainly he made what they took to be promises that their wrongs should be righted, and no harm should befall them. In that belief they dispersed, well satisfied. It was all they wanted.

The betrayal.

The great Peasant Revolt, or Wat Tyler's rebellion, was begun and ended in three weeks. But whatever Richard had said, none of the promises were kept, none of the grievances remedied. Once the insurgents had scattered it was easy to prevent them from gathering again. The ringleaders were taken and hanged. And then the parliament which met in October pronounced that the king had no power to make or to promise changes in the law. His words had been empty breath; the written engagements he had made on the first day were waste-paper. Some scores of persons had been killed, some property wrecked, and a great many people had been very much frightened; but the rebellion had won nothing at all for the peasantry.

WHAT are called 'economic' causes succeeded where rebellion had failed. The lords of the soil would yield nothing to force or threats;

but when they had recovered from their ill-temper, some of them began to see first that after all the peasants had reasonable grounds for complaint; secondly, that paid labour cost less in the end than forced labour; thirdly, that more profit was to be made by sheep-breeding and wool-growing than by the tillage of their demesnes. Without any legislation, they went back to what had been practised before the Black Death. There was no scarcity of labour now, and both landowners and peasants had the same reasons as their grandfathers for preferring rent and wages to forced service, and when forced services were not required (as in the plague years) there was no reason for stopping a villein from leaving his lord's land. More and more the landlords released their villeins from the villeinage which bound them to the soil, and took rents from them in place of services (for which they had the less use when their own fields were under sheep instead of under the plough); and in the course of the next fifty years nearly all the villeins had become copyholders, holding their fields for a small fixed rent which was never to be raised, under written agreements recorded in the manor rolls. The copyholder differed from the freeholder only in the fact that he had no right of attending the shire court and taking part in the election of knights of the shire. Villeinage—serfdom—died out. If there had been no Black Death it would have gone much sooner, and its disappearance was not hastened but only a little delayed by the Peasant Revolt.

5. The passing of villeinage.

It is worth noticing that even in the days of the revolt there were radical landlords and radical parsons who took the peasant side, though the monasteries were as unpopular with the insurgents as the lay landowners. It is also curious that there was little disturbance outside Kent and the eastern counties, though there was less villeinage in the insurgent shires than in the rest of the country.

VI. The Tragedy of Richard II.: 1381-1399.

Richard and Lancaster—The Appellants—Richard rules—
Richard strikes—Richard as Despot—His Fall.

RICHARD at the age of fourteen had found in the Peasant Revolt the chance of displaying a fearlessness of personal danger, and presence of mind in the moment of peril, which gave high hopes for the future. He could hardly be blamed if he had not yet statecraft enough to know that his powers as king were limited and the

1. Richard's weakness.

law would take its course in spite of his promises. But the hopes were not destined to be fulfilled. There were moments in his reign when he acted with a swift vigour and decision which for the time completely disconcerted his opponents. There were eight years—from 1389, when he was twenty-two, to 1397—during which he made wise use of his power; but he did not in general turn it to good account. A sudden idea, a momentary impulse, suggested some dramatic and wholly unexpected act—as at Smithfield. And that was all. He could snatch the chance of doing something startling, but he could not steer the ship of State, and his career ended in disaster.

The minority.

In 1381 he had shown himself a clever boy, but grown men were not going to treat him as a grown man. He could not control the Council, in whose hands lay the affairs of State, with Lancaster as its real director. Like many other clever boys, he knew that he was quicker of wit than most of them, and he resented having to submit to their guidance, forgetting that after all experience counts as well as cleverness. Still, until 1385 he could not challenge Lancaster's position or claim that he was old enough to take matters into his own hands. But he could, and did, make friends of his own who were not at all to the liking of his uncles and their allies among the barons—men sprung from the burgess class, whom they despised, though one, Michael de la Pole, had been appointed as 'tutor' or guardian to the boy along with Lancaster's ally the earl of Arundel. Pole was the first man of burgher parentage who was made a peer. Among the elder baronage Richard's one chosen friend was Robert de Vere, earl of Oxford, who was little older and no wiser than himself.

John of Gaunt.

While Lancaster ruled, little took place that was of consequence: though he led two expeditions into Scotland—taking the king on one of them—which were barren of useful results, though there was the usual ravaging. But in 1386 the duke left the country, from which he was absent for three years—engaged on a vain attempt to make himself king of Castile, in right of his second wife who was a daughter of Pedro the Cruel. There were three Johns mixed up in this business: John the king of Portugal, John the king of Castile (son of Henry of Trastamare), and our John of Gaunt. John of Castile wanted John of Portugal's crown, John of Gaunt wanted John of Castile's crown, and so John of Portugal and John of Gaunt joined forces. In the end, each of the two kings kept his own crown, and John of Gaunt married his two daughters, one to the Crown Prince of Castile and the other to John of Portugal himself. So though

Lancaster was never a king in his own person, not only did his son Henry seize the English crown, but his two daughters became queens, and two hundred years later the crown of England was claimed for a Spanish princess who was descended from both of them.

At the time however the only effect upon England of Lancaster's Spanish ambitions was that they kept him away from the country from 1386 to 1389.

2. Gloucester.

Lancaster was ambitious and not too wise, a poor captain and a poor statesman; but he was always loyal to his nephew; and if he kept the rule very much in his own hands, he could honestly believe that it was both his right and his duty to do so, as first prince of the blood royal, so long as the king was too young to take upon himself the duties of kingship. But his departure left the field clear for less scrupulous persons. And Richard was now nineteen, an age when kings are reckoned as no longer 'minors' though in other ranks men are not counted as 'coming of age' till twenty-one.

Pole was chancellor, and might be called head of the government. In the Council, his rival was Arundel. Outside the Council, Gloucester, who was no more than thirty, had been overshadowed by Lancaster whose place he now intended to take—the other brother, York, having no ambition. Gloucester joined Arundel, with whom the king was on very ill terms, in opposition to Pole (who had been made earl of Suffolk). Pole asked parliament for 'subsidies' (the usual name for a grant of money) on account of a French threat of invasion. Parliament, moved by Gloucester and Arundel, refused to grant subsidies unless the king dismissed his ministers and favourites. The impulsive king refused to dismiss 'so much as a scullion' at the orders of anybody, and made the earl of Oxford 'Duke of Ireland.' Men began to recall memories of Gaveston and Edward II. Richard yielded to Gloucester, and dismissed Pole, who was impeached and imprisoned, though obviously not guilty of the charges. Richard dismissed the parliament, and released Pole. Then he retired to Nottingham, hoping to raise support in the midland counties—leaving Gloucester and Arundel in London.

The Appellants.

At Nottingham he summoned a body of counsellors, chiefly lawyers—not a proper parliament—who made a declaration (1387), known as the Opinions of Nottingham, that the late proceedings of parliament had been contrary to the rights of the Crown, the Prerogative, and that the instigators thereof were guilty of treason. Oxford on one side, Gloucester and Arundel on the other, began raising troops; and the two latter answered the Opinions of Nottingham by 'appealing of treason'—that is, openly charging with treason—Oxford, Pole, and three other unpopular friends or favourites of the king. Three earls joined them in the 'appeal'—Lancaster's son Henry of Hereford, Thomas Mowbray of Nottingham, and Warwick. The five were known as the Lords Appellants.

On the other side, only Oxford tried to put up a fight, and at Radcot Bridge his men ran away. He and Pole escaped to France; of the others who had been appealed, two were caught and executed. The fifth, the archbishop of York, was deprived of his office, and his place was taken by Bishop Arundel, the earl's brother. This was the work of the 'Wonderful' or 'Merciless' Parliament of 1388, which also sent some more victims to execution. But the violence of the victorious party—who professed to be champions of the law—was not altogether approved. The young earl of Hereford, himself an Appellant, and his uncle York, both protested. But Richard was powerless, and the Council, now wholly in the hands of Gloucester and the Arundels, went its own way.

All this, we should notice, was effected by the dangerous practice of 'packing' the House of Commons, which Lancaster had started after his defeat by the Good Parliament. It was done through the sheriffs who managed the elections and took care that the members returned as having been elected should be of the party to which they themselves were attached—which in this case was that of the Appellants.

For a year Richard seemed to submit quietly. Gloucester and Arundel ruled, and they used their power to harden—for the time—the restrictions imposed by the law upon villeins; the landowners had not yet recovered from their resentment at the revolt. Pole before had tried and failed to get a conclusive peace with France and Scotland: Gloucester failed now through the folly (for which popular sentiment in England was partly in fault) of insisting on the old claim of suzerainty to which Scotland would not dream of listening.

3. The coup d'état.

Then in 1389 Richard played his master-stroke. Entering the Council as usual he quietly asked his uncle, 'How old am I?' 'Twenty-two,' said Gloucester. 'Old enough to choose my own ministers,' said Richard. There was no answer possible. The king at once dismissed Archbishop Arundel and other partisans, but in their places he set not favourites, but old and well-tried ministers who for years had taken no part in politics. He attacked no one—but he invited Lancaster, whose chance of getting the Castilian crown had quite disappeared by this time, to return to England and resume his place at the Council. Lancaster came; Richard treated him with confidence and cordiality, which he returned with honest loyalty; and it was Gloucester's turn to find himself helpless.

Gloucester's discomfiture was completed by an artistic touch—Richard desired that his kind uncle of Gloucester should also give him the favour of his wisdom and experience on the Council—of which neither he nor Lancaster had in the past been formal members. Archbishop Arundel was similarly recalled. Another artistic touch secured the ministers. They did not wish, it seemed, and the king did not wish them, to remain in office unless parliament approved of them. After less than a year they resigned. But they were all experienced officials of irreproachable character, and parliament expressed its desire that they should resume their offices.

For eight years the harmony continued—not however without an occasional discord. Lancaster and Arundel (the earl) had a quarrel after which they were never friends again. After twelve years of marriage Richard in 1394 lost the wife to whom he was devoted—Anne of Bohemia, sister of King Wenzel who was now German king; and after her death the self-control he had recently displayed showed signs of breaking down. Like Lancaster, he quarrelled with Arundel, and the quarrel was violent and undignified.

A quiet period.

But meanwhile the government was carried on quietly and to the general satisfaction. The anti-papal statutes of Provisors and Praemunire passed in the middle of the reign of Edward III. were renewed in a stronger form (the first forbidding the filling of high posts such as bishoprics in England by the Pope; the second forbidding appeals from English to papal courts). There was the more need, since the Great Schism was now in full force and there were two rival popes, one acknowledged by England and Germany and the other by France and Scotland. A thirty years' peace was at last made with the French and Scots, and Richard took for his second wife the little French princess Isabel who was still in the nursery. The king paid a visit to Ireland, which had a pacifying effect there, and left as lieutenant in that country his cousin, young Roger Mortimer, who had succeeded to the earldom of March and was named as heir to the English throne unless Richard himself should have children.

IN 1397 came the change. The first hint of it was a violent explosion of temper on Richard's part. The House of Commons had at last discovered some grievances and in that February it petitioned that they should be remedied; among other things it complained of the extravagance of the court. The member who had made this complaint was one Haxey, a cleric—this is the last time we hear of clergy sitting along with the Commons. Richard's wrath broke out; the unfortunate Haxey was tried before the Lords and condemned to death as a traitor. As he was a cleric, Archbishop Arundel interceded for him; he was pardoned, and the affair blew over. But it was significant that the trial of Haxey—which is remembered as 'Haxey's Case'—was an interference with freedom of debate in the House of Commons. Later we shall find that the right to discuss anything and everything with absolute security from punishment for doing so was counted the most necessary and valuable of all the privileges of the House of Commons. But at this time no protest was made.

4. Haxey's Case.

It would seem however that this business revived in the king's mind the old ideas connected with the troubles of 1386 and the Opinions of Nottingham; ideas of the Royal Prerogative which really meant that the king had a lawful right to do exactly what he liked, unrestrained by peers or parliaments. It is difficult to believe that for these eight years he had been nursing his resentment and patiently waiting for the moment when he could turn on his old enemies and rend them. But from the beginning of 1397, after Haxey's Case, he was planning vengeance. In July he struck.

Richard strikes.

He had drawn over several of the younger nobles, including Mowbray of Nottingham, one of the Appellants. The objects of his anger were Gloucester, the Arundels, and in a less degree Warwick. Without warning, all four were arrested; Gloucester was sent under Mowbray's charge to Calais, where undoubtedly he was murdered. The archbishop (he had been transferred from York to Canterbury) was deprived of his see and banished; his brother was executed; Warwick was condemned but pardoned. Mowbray was rewarded with the dukedom of Norfolk; the fifth of the Lords Appellants (and his father Lancaster) Henry of Hereford was conciliated by being made duke of Hereford. But neither he nor Mowbray could feel at ease.

Early next year a parliament was called at Shrewsbury. The 'packing' was all on Richard's side now. It confirmed the Opinions of Nottingham, with its views on the Royal Prerogative. It declared that parliament could discuss only questions

5. Richard absolute.

submitted to it by the Crown. It secured the king's revenue by granting him a life-subsidy on wool. And then it appointed a committee to exercise all the powers of parliament of which it had not already deprived itself.

Neither Norfolk nor Hereford was on the committee. Both took alarm. Norfolk came to Hereford with suggestions which may have been treasonable. Hereford denounced him to the king. Norfolk gave Hereford the lie direct. There was no evidence either way. One or other was lying; if it was Hereford why had he invented the lie? On the other hand, for Norfolk to have done what Hereford accused him of doing was no more than might have been expected. The chances were that Hereford's story was true—but he could not prove it. There was one way of settling the question, sanctioned by the law and approved by public opinion: that was, by Ordeal of Battle, which both the dukes demanded.

Banishment of Hereford.

Richard gave his sanction. They were to meet in the lists at Coventry. The victor would be adjudged to have spoken the truth. The whole thing was to be done in state, with the king as the arbiter in the duel, and with every one of consequence looking on. The lists were prepared, the spectators assembled, the king entered, the combatants rode into the lists and couched their spears, and—the king stopped the fight. Then he pronounced his own amazing award. Norfolk was to be banished for life, Hereford for six years; but without forfeiture of their estates.

Clearly one or other was the victim of flagrant injustice, since they could not both be guilty. The world judged that Henry of Hereford was the victim; but there was no appeal against the judgment. Both the dukes left the country; Norfolk died on pilgrimage to the Holy Land. Henry waited and watched. All the Appellants had gone now. Lancaster's loyalty could be counted on in spite of all; so could York's. There was no one left whose power Richard need fear. He could do whatsoever he would.

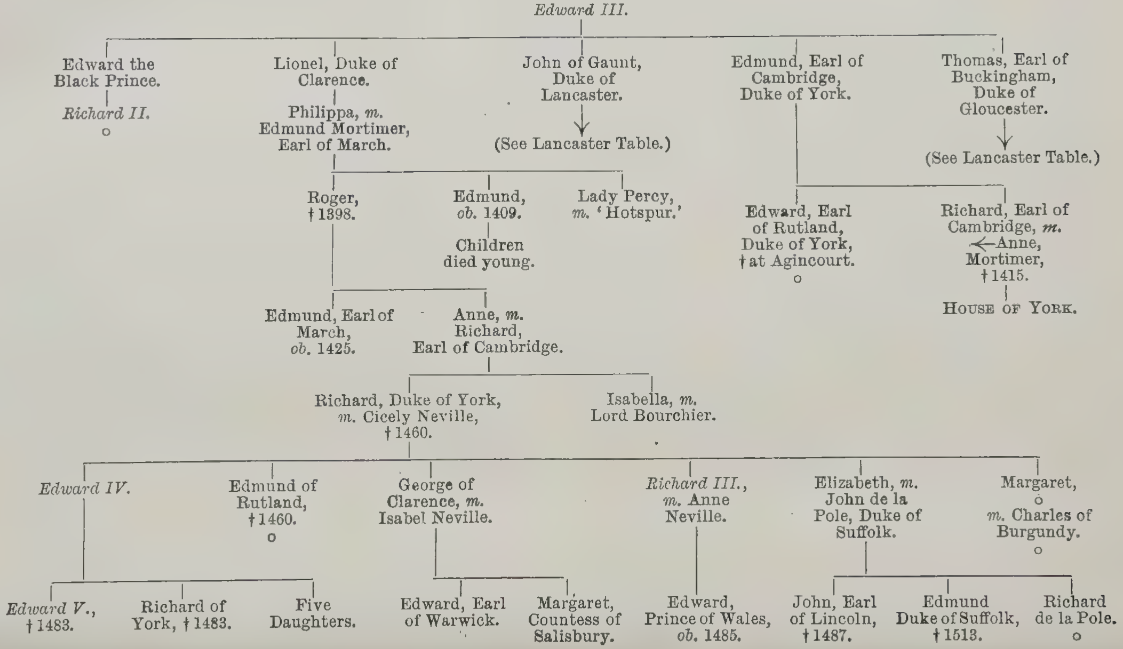
He put no one to death. He imprisoned no one. But he levied fines and exactions at large, with none to resist him. In February 1399, six months after Coventry, Lancaster died. In defiance of his pledge to Henry, Richard seized his estates—the committee of government, which the Shrewsbury parliament had appointed, assenting. And still there was no one to say him nay.

And then he sealed his own doom by going over to Ireland, where Roger Mortimer the young heir-presumptive to the throne, had just

BATTERSEA PUBLIC

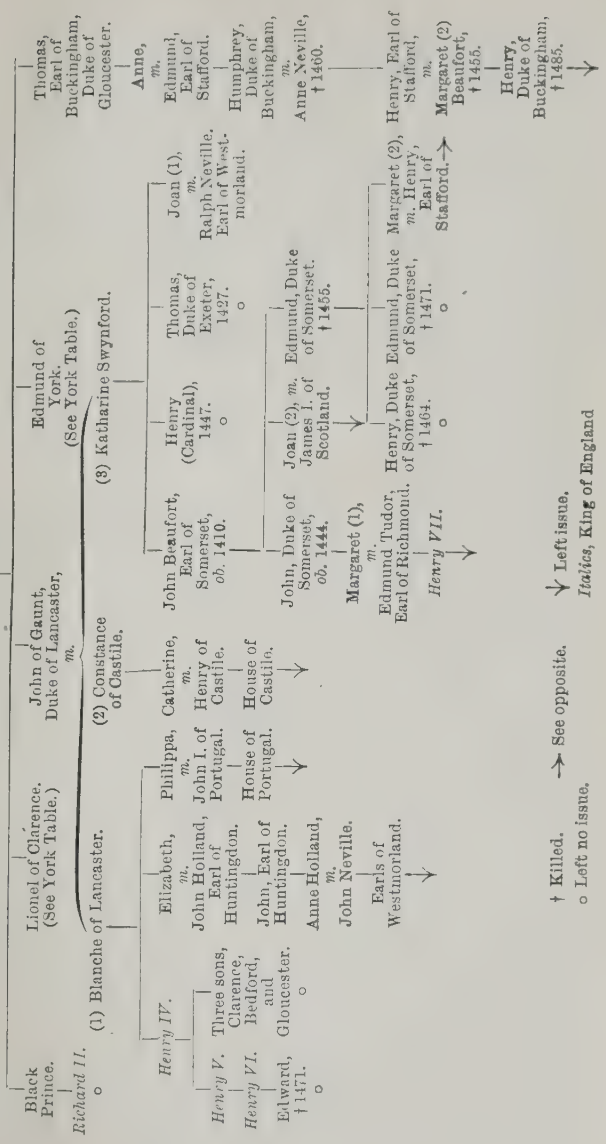
DESCENDANTS OF EDWARD III.

(*A*) HOUSE OF YORK


Edward III.
Edward the Black Prince.
Richard II. o
Lionel, Duke of Clarence.
Philippa, *m.* Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March.
John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster.
(See Lancaster Table.)
Edmund, Earl of Cambridge, Duke of York.
Thomas, Earl of Buckingham, Duke of Gloucester.
(See Lancaster Table.)
Roger, † 1398.
Edmund, *ob.* 1409.
Children died young.
Lady Percy, *m.* 'Hotspur.'
Edward, Earl of Rutland, Duke of York, † at Agincourt. o
Richard, Earl of Cambridge, *m.* ←Anne, Mortimer, † 1415.
HOUSE OF YORK.
Edmund, Earl of March, *ob.* 1425.
Anne, *m.* Richard, Earl of Cambridge.
Richard, Duke of York, *m.* Cicely Neville, † 1460.
Isabella, *m.* Lord Bourchier.
Edward IV.
Edmund of Rutland, † 1460. o
George of Clarence, *m.* Isabel Neville.
Richard III., *m.* Anne Neville.
Elizabeth, *m.* John de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk.
Margaret, o *m.* Charles of Burgundy. o
Edward V., † 1483.
Richard of York, † 1483.
Five Daughters.
Edward, Earl of Warwick.
Margaret, Countess of Salisbury.
Edward, Prince of Wales, *ob.* 1485.
John, Earl of Lincoln, † 1487.
Edmund Duke of Suffolk, † 1513.
Richard de la Pole. o

DESCENDANTS OF EDWARD III.

(*B*) LANCASTER, BEAUFORT, AND BUCKINGHAM


Edward III.
Black Prince.
Richard II. ○
Lionel of Clarence. (See York Table.)
John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, *m.*
Edmund of York. (See York Table.)
Thomas, Earl of Buckingham, Duke of Gloucester.
(1) Blanche of Lancaster.
(2) Constance of Castile.
(3) Katharine Swynford.
Henry IV.
Henry V.
Henry VI.
Edward, † 1471. ○
Three sons, Clarence, Bedford, and Gloucester. ○
Elizabeth, *m.* John Holland, Earl of Huntingdon.
John, Earl of Huntingdon.
Anne Holland, *m.* John Neville.
Earls of Westmorland.
Philippa, *m.* John I. of Portugal.
House of Portugal.
Catherine, *m.* Henry of Castile.
House of Castile.
John Beaufort, Earl of Somerset, *ob.* 1410.
Henry (Cardinal), 1447. ○
Thomas, Duke of Exeter, 1427. ○
Joan (1), *m.* Ralph Neville. Earl of Westmorland.
John, Duke of Somerset, *ob.* 1444.
Joan (2), *m.* James I. of Scotland.
Edmund, Duke of Somerset. † 1455.
Margaret (1), *m.* Edmund Tudor, Earl of Richmond.
Henry VII.
Henry, Duke of Somerset, † 1464. ○
Edmund, Duke of Somerset, † 1471. ○
Margaret (2), *m.* Henry, Earl of Stafford.
Anne, *m.* Edmund, Earl of Stafford.
Humphrey, Duke of Buckingham, *m.* Anne Neville, † 1460.
Henry, Earl of Stafford, *m.* Margaret (2) Beaufort, † 1455.
Henry, Duke of Buckingham, † 1485.
† Killed.
○ Left no issue.
→ See opposite.
↓ Left issue.
Italics, King of England

been killed. Several of the nobles went with him; the country was left in the feeble charge of York. Six weeks after his landing in Ireland, Henry of Hereford landed at Ravenspur in Yorkshire to claim his lawful inheritance, the duchy of Lancaster. Nothing more.

6. Henry's return.

In his character of a grievously wronged but quite loyal noble, it was easy for the friends with whom he had been intriguing—foremost among them Henry and Thomas Percy, who since Richard's accession had been made earls of Northumberland and Worcester, partisans of John of Gaunt from the days of the Good Parliament—to join him; in arms, of course, but simply as a necessary precaution. Easy too to urge that, as he had succeeded to his father's position as First Prince of the Blood (passing over Roger Mortimer's children and brother), it was his duty to guide his royal cousin along wiser paths, and to head the growing demand for the remedying of grievances. Supporters flocked to his standard as he marched south to prevent the regent York from joining forces with the army from Ireland on its return. But in fact both York's troops and those which arrived from Ireland deserted their leaders, and either dispersed or joined Lancaster. York himself reluctantly followed suit. Richard when he reached Wales found himself without an army. At Conway he surrendered to Northumberland, who carried him to Henry at Flint, whence he was conveyed to London, whither the exiled Archbishop Arundel had now returned.

Richard deposed.

Henry dropped the mask, which he had only been wearing for form's sake. A parliament was summoned, which called upon Richard to resign the crown and accepted Henry's claim to it as the lawful heir. Richard yielded and signed the Act of Abdication, and Henry of Lancaster was seated on the royal throne as Henry IV. by Archbishop Arundel as Primate of England. Unless the Salic Law was also the law of England—a somewhat absurd doctrine for any Plantagenet to put forward—the lawful heir was not Henry but Roger Mortimer's small son Edmund, the great-grandson of John of Gaunt's elder brother Lionel; but no one was prepared to assert the child's claim. England wanted, then and there, a king who could play a king's part. Besides, the recognition of King John in preference to his elder brother's son in 1199 was a precedent good enough to warrant Henry's election by parliament.

Still there remained three plain facts which could not be concealed. Henry had won the crown by rebellion against a sovereign whose title to it was not open to question. There was another claimant with a stronger title to the succession by descent, if the law of England was that which had been laid down for Scotland by Edward I. at Norham. And finally, it was the parliament of England which had compelled one king to abdicate and had chosen his successor; as no king had come to the throne by simple unquestioned right of descent in the three centuries between Ethelred the Redeless and Henry III. And those three facts made Henry's hold on the crown very uncertain. The first could be urged in justification by any rebels taking up arms to obtain the remedying of grievances. The second provided a figure-head for rebellion on the ground that the reigning king was a usurper. The third implied that parliament had a right to depose one king and put another in his place. No Lancastrian king could afford to forget that he wore the crown by grace of parliament.

Henry IV.'s title.

VII. Literature and Lollardy: 1350-1400.

Piers Plowman—Geoffrey Chaucer—Wiclif—Lollardy.

I. Early English literature.

English Literature, literature written in a language which a modern Englishman can recognise as English, began in the reign of Edward III. The earlier work of English writers was either in the Latin which was the language common to the learned men of all nations, the language of law courts, of the Church services, of the Vulgate (the translation or version of the Bible accepted all over Christendom), of the 'Doctors' or teachers of divinity, theology, and philosophy, the 'schoolmen,' of all countries; or else in the very early English spoken before or soon after the Norman conquest, which differs as much from Shakespeare's English as Latin does from the Italian of Dante or the French of Molière.

The new English language.

Soon after the conquest the clergy and the monks, the only writers of those times, dropped the use of this language in their writing almost entirely, taking to Latin instead; though here and there it was still sometimes used. But all through the twelfth and thirteenth centuries a new language was being made out of a blend between the old language and the French which was spoken by the Normans. When knights and squires made songs they were in French; when the common folk made songs and ballads, they were in the Old English; and whether they were French or English they were hardly ever written down. But in the reign of Edward III. the common speech of every one in everyday life was the new language which had grown up. There were 'dialects,' varieties in it; it was not quite the same in the north and in the south; it was not quite the same among the peasants and the upper classes (even to-day there are plenty of such differences in common speech). But always it was neither French nor Old English, but a cross between them. And about the middle of the century men began to wake up to the idea that if they wanted as many people as possible to listen to what they had to say, they had better say it in the language which every one was in the habit of using, as the Italians and the French too had already been doing for some time.

Mandeville.

Sir John Mandeville led the way. He made up an amazing story of *Travels*, a little of it true, a good deal picked up from travellers who said it was true, and most of it downright fiction which no one could contradict because no one had been to his fabulous countries. He wrote it in Latin, as the proper language for a learned man. Then he translated it into French, the language of the highest society. And then in 1356 he tried a third version in the English which everybody could understand. With some practice, we can understand it now.

Piers Plowman.

Then came a writer of a very different kind, a poet, William Langland, not a songster. What he wrote was a long allegory called the *Vision of Piers* (Peter) *the Plowman.* It was a picture of the English people—mostly the country folk—as he saw them; and it is not at all a pretty one. The Black Death and the Statute of Labourers had not made a 'Merrie England' at the time when he was writing, and William saw the worst there was to see in everything and everybody, partly because he wanted to see something very much better; greed and fraud everywhere, every one shirking honest work, servants cheating their masters, masters tyrannising over their servants. No doubt a great deal of it was true—but then we know also that there was a vast amount of good which he did not see.

Langland wrote in the dialect spoken in the Midlands; he is not easy to understand, as his dialect was not that which presently became the language of all educated people in England. But in the year when *Piers Plowman* first appeared—1363—there was a young poet at court and there was a learned divine at Oxford who between them were to shape the literary language of England: Geoffrey Chaucer and John Wiclif or Wycliffe. And a Scot, John Barbour, was soon at work on his historical poem *Brus*, the story of the deeds of Bruce and Douglas, with which Scotland's literary history begins.

2. Chaucer.

GEOFFREY CHAUCER was born in 1340, the year of the great sea-fight of Sluys. He was of the burgher class, the son of a well-to-do vintner; through some sort of interest, he became a page in the household of Lionel of Clarence, where his companions were young gentlemen of high birth and station; when Clarence died, he became attached to Lancaster; much of his life was passed at court or in court society; on various occasions he went abroad, in the train of ambassadors, and saw and talked with famous men in France and Flanders and twice in Italy, the land of literature and art. At nineteen he went to the wars, but his military experience was short, because he was taken prisoner, and the war was over a few months later. He was a prosperous person, who saw a great deal of life and of the manners and customs of many people in many lands; and he enjoyed his own life thoroughly. He found the world a pleasant place, and his neighbours pleasant people, with entertaining little foibles of character, but generally honest and kindly; and wherever he found beauty, whether it was in spring flowers or in precious and noble characters, he rejoiced in it exceedingly. Being a born artist and an admirable story-teller, he wrote poems which place him not indeed on a level with Shakespeare but in the very front rank of great English poets. The most amazing thing about him is that from the very start he took hold of the English language as it was generally spoken amongst cultivated persons and used it as no one had ever thought of using it before, proving that there was no tongue more beautiful or capable of giving a richer variety of expression. His poems are as finished in form as if other poets had been making experiments and trying what English words could be made to do for a hundred years past. And yet nobody had been doing anything of the kind. Langland had only used the old verse-form in which the lay of Brunanburh had been composed centuries before. There were some rough soldier ballads or rhymes—we have some of them, made by a fighting Yorkshireman, Laurence Minot, crude and fierce, but with a swing in them—but nothing else except *Piers Plowman*. And then—masterpieces.

The maker of English.

Canterbury Tales.

The great masterpiece is the series called the *Canterbury Tales*, written when Richard II. was king—Chaucer died a year or two after his deposition. The poet tells how a number of people from every social class, men and women, knight, cleric, and ploughman, gathered at the Tabard Inn in Southwark on the south side of the Thames, to go on pilgrimage to the shrine of the 'holy blissful Martyr' St. Thomas (Becket) at Canterbury, and how they agreed that each of them in turn should tell a story to beguile the tediousness of the journey. Then he makes a poem of each tale, a romance of chivalry, a fairy-tale of wizards and enchanters, a humorous farmyard story of the Fox, Chauntecleer the Cock, and Dame Partlet the Hen; and so on—and each the kind of story which that kind of person would be likely to choose. But the most fascinating part of the whole series is the Prologue, in which Chaucer describes the company, one by one—each one evidently a familiar figure in Chaucer's time, a person you might come across any day of the week. And allowing for changes in trades and professions, you may come across any of them any day of the week in the twentieth century.

Chaucer's English Tales.

Here is the sober merchant, trusted by every one, whose word is as good as his bond, but a shrewd man of business; the friar, more anxious to be popular than to reprove vice; the monk who is a judge of horse-flesh; the prioress, prim and dainty, and proud of her French which a Parisian would not recognise; the 'wife of Bath,' a masculine lady who keeps every one about her in order, and manages her business as vigorously as any man; the roystering seaman; the sharp reeve or land-agent; the cheating contractor; a couple of clerical charlatans, the 'summoner' and the 'pardoner'; the lawyer; the franklin or country squire; the physician (very unlike his modern successor); the small tradesmen whose wives have a fervent desire to be genteel; and a dozen more of all degrees, including the genial host of the Tabard. But first and last on the list are the most attractive figures of all: the 'very perfect gentle knight,' who 'loved chivalry, honour and truth, freedom and courtesy,' a most valiant warrior, but in his bearing 'meek as is a maid'; his young son and squire 'as fresh as is the month of May'; their yeoman or attendant, with sword and buckler and a 'mighty bow' in his hand; the parish parson 'rich of holy thought and work, that Christé's Gospel trewély would preach'—

'This noble example to his sheep he gave,
That first he wrought and afterwards he taught
For Christé's love and his apostles twelve
He taught, but first he followed it himself';

and the parson's brother, the Plowman, a hard worker and thrifty but always ready to give his neighbour a helping hand, 'living in peace and perfect charity.'

It is a pleasanter picture of English men and women than we get from grim William Langland.

3. Wiclif's Bible.

Wiclif's share in the making of the language was his great work of translating the New Testament into English. He may not have done the whole of it, and he may have done part of the Old Testament too. The Gospels, which were certainly his, were the groundwork of all the later translations, including our own Authorised Version. Their language is not far removed from Wiclif's; in which there were two stages. Being a Yorkshireman, he began in the Yorkshire dialect; being an Oxford scholar, he changed to the forms in use in the south. Nothing does so much to spread and fix forms of speech as a book which is widely and constantly read; it was some years before the distribution of Wiclif's Bible was stopped; and therefore his Bible did a great deal towards fixing the forms of English speech and especially of written speech.

The clergy.

But Wiclif was a great deal more than one of the fathers of English literature. He is justly known as the 'Morning Star of the Reformation.' The Reformation, when it came in the sixteenth century, was brought about not so much because men rejected the doctrines taught by the clergy as because they lost respect for the popes and the clergy and ceased to take for granted that whatever they said about religion must be true. The Avignon Papacy weakened respect for the popes; the Great Schism, which came the year after Edward III.'s death, came near to destroying it. Respect for the clergy had risen in the thirteenth century when the friars were striving in their own lives to tread in the steps of Christ and His apostles; it fell again in the fourteenth century when that wave of religious enthusiasm had passed away, when the friars were no more Christlike than their neighbours, when bishops were mixing themselves up with political factions and forgetting their duties as shepherds of Christ's flock, and the monasteries, at least in the south and east, were as strict in exacting their legal rights from the peasants as the lay lords.

Wiclif's teaching.

Wiclif was a cleric—not a monk, but of the 'secular' clergy. He was one of the most learned scholars of his time, and he was profoundly versed in the Scriptures. And he came to the conclusion that the true doctrine of the Church was not necessarily what popes and bishops and clergy said it was. If they were holy men inspired by the spirit of God displayed in their lives, there was warrant for their authority. If they were very clearly not holy men, their authority was naught. Authority comes not from the office to which the man has been appointed, but from the divine grace bestowed on him. If the grace is lacking, the office is naught, though without the office the authority may not be claimed. So Wiclif taught. But the power of the clergy rested on the belief that their authority in matters of religion was final and not to be disputed; that having the office as priest, bishop, or pope, they had the authority also, subject only to their superiors in the Church—and the Pope had no superior, unless it were a General Council of the Church. Thus Wiclif's view was the starting-point of the later 'Protestant' revolt against the doctrine that the religious authority of popes and clergy might not be disputed.

Now this teaching of Wiclif's came just when the Avignon Papacy was drawing to an end in the last years of Edward III., and in the first years of the Great Schism. The nobles were jealous of the political influence of the clergy; the Commons were jealous of the great wealth which was in their possession; the general respect for them was at a low ebb; and here was this eminent scholar, himself a parson and rector of Lutterworth, saying that the clergy were not doing their duty and that if they did not do their duty they had no authority. That was why John of Gaunt brought Wiclif into the field, to denounce the employment of the clergy in temporal affairs at the time of the Good Parliament. Wiclif and his teaching became popular with the nobles; and with the Commons because he denounced wealth and luxury among the clergy.

4. Lollardy.

But then Wiclif went on to deny, as contrary to Scripture, a particular doctrine on which the churchmen laid great stress—that of Transubstantiation. The Church taught that in the service of the Mass (the Holy Communion or Supper of our Lord) the bread and wine received by the communicants have actually been changed into the Body and Blood of Christ when certain words have been pronounced over them by the priest; to our senses, to sight and taste and touch, they remain what they were, but what philosophers call their 'substance' has been changed. Every time the priest utters the mystic words he performs a miracle. But the miracle takes place only when the words are spoken by an ordained priest—the miracle of Transubstantiation, or change of substance. If there were no change of substance, there would be no miracle. If all priests possess this power and no other men, as Roman Catholics still hold, their claim to a divine authority higher than that of any layman is indisputable. If they do not possess it, half the force of their claim to authority is gone. Wiclif's denial of Transubstantiation was a denial of the authority of the churchmen, and so in the sixteenth century Transubstantiation became the supreme question between Papalists and Protestants.

But in the fourteenth century, though many people might be jealous of the clergy's wealth and influence, they were not for the most part asking themselves questions about what they were in the habit of taking for granted as religious truth. They were very much afraid of being called heretics, and it required a great deal of trouble to understand the arguments on both sides. It was the clergy's business, not theirs, to settle such matters. At first there were a few people who followed Wiclif, and many who were quite ready to do so; but when the Church courts pronounced that he was teaching heresy, they drew back. After all it was not the churchmen's spiritual authority that troubled them, but their influence in temporal matters.

Lollardy in politics.

And then Wiclif gave practical effect to his teaching. He started a body of 'poor preachers,' who like the friars in the last century were to live a life of poverty and to go about among the poor, preaching. Their sympathies were with the poor against the rich, and several of them joined the peasants in Wat Tyler's revolt. One of its most active leaders was the priest John Ball, whose favourite texts were the equality of all men in the sight of God and the wrongfulness of private property. Wiclif never taught this, but it was not hard to make out that it followed from what he did teach. If this was to be the outcome of Wiclif's teaching, orderly people would have nothing to do with it; it was a danger to society.

And then a new point revealed itself. Laymen might approve the idea that the clergy had no authority if they lived immoral lives and neglected their duties; but it was equally easy to say that the same rule applied to lay lords, ministers of state and princes: that if it was lawful to reject clerical authority, it was lawful to resist lay authority. When men began to take up this line and to appeal to Wiclif's doctrine in justification, it appeared that the 'Lollards,' the name by which his followers were known, were a danger to the State.

When Wiclif himself died in 1384, the laity were still much inclined in his favour; it was after this that the revolutionary side of Lollardy and its 'heretical' character became more prominent and turned

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orderly and orthodox sentiment against it so that in the fifteenth century it was vigorously suppressed with general popular approval. But Wiclif had sown seed which was to bear fruit almost immediately on the Continent and more than a hundred years later in England: where Lollardy as a political movement was stamped out, while its religious doctrines always retained a few, and perhaps many, secret adherents. The suppression of Lollardy however did not in the least diminish the anti-clerical sentiment on which it was originally founded.

CHRONOLOGY

1330-1399.

England. (Kings of England, on their accession, are printed in Capitals.)	Scotland, Ireland, and Europe. (Scottish and Irish events are printed in *Italics.*)
1333. Separation of Lords and Commons.	1332-41. *Edward Balliol, Pretender.*
	1332. *Dupplin Moor.*
1337. Edward claims the French crown.	1333. *Halidon Hill.*
1338. Hundred Years' War begins.	
1340. Sluys.	1341. *Scottish Independence recovered.*
1346. Crecy.	1346. *Neville's Cross: David II. captured.*
1347. Calais: a truce.	1347. Charles IV. of Luxemburg, emperor.
1348-49. The Black Death.	
1351. Statute of Labourers.	1350-1364. John, king of France.
1352. Statute of Treasons.	
1354. Ordinance of the Staple.	
1356. Poictiers. King John prisoner.	1357. *David released.*
	1358. The Jacquerie in France.
1360. Treaty of Bretigny.	
1363. Langland's 'Piers Plowman.'	1361. Philip the Bold, duke of Burgundy.
1367. Battle of Navarrete.	1364-80. Charles V., king of France.
1370. Sack of Limoges.	1366. *Statute of Kilkenny.*

1370-75.	Disasters in France.	1370.	*Robert II., king* (first Stewart).
1376.	Good Parliament. First impeachment.	1375.	Barbour's 'Brus.'
1377-99.	RICHARD II.	1378-1414.	The Great Schism.
1381.	Wat Tyler's Revolt. Wiclif's Bible.	1380-1422.	Charles VI., king of France.
1384.	Chaucer's 'Canterbury Tales' begun.		
1387.	The Lords Appellants.		
1388.	The Wonderful Parliament.	1388.	*Battle of Otterburn.*
1389.	Fall of Gloucester.	1390.	*Robert III., king.*
1393.	Statute of Praemunire.		
1397.	Beginning of the Tyranny.		
1398.	Banishment of Henry of Hereford.		
1399.	Deposition of Richard II.		

FOURTEENTH-CENTURY STATUTES, ORDINANCES, ETC.

THE **Statute of Labourers**, 1351, forbids wages to be demanded or paid at higher rates than before the Black Death and fixes the price at which bread may be sold.

The **Statute of Provisors**, 1351, forbids the acceptance of appointments made by the Pope, under penalties.

The **Statute of Treasons**, 1352, lays down the offences which are 'treason' against the king: killing or attempting to kill the king, the queen, or the heir-apparent, killing the king's ministers or judges, levying war against the king, or joining the king's enemies.

The **Ordinance of the Staple**, 1354, restricts the sale of staple goods to the 'Merchants of the Staple' and to the staple towns: with other regulations.

The **Statute of Praemunire**, 1393, imposes penalties on any one who by his actions acknowledges the jurisdiction of papal courts.

The **Treaty of Bretigny**, 1360, undertakes that Edward III. shall withdraw his claim to the French crown, but shall hold Aquitaine and Calais in full sovereignty, *i.e.* independently, not as a feudatory of the French king.

PARLIAMENT IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

We have seen that Parliament was established in the reign of Edward I., and that the Model Parliament of 1295 really gave a lasting shape to the Commune Concilium, which was itself the Great Council of Magnates with some lesser folk added to it on occasions when it was expected that their attendance would be useful. But several of Edward I.'s 'parliaments' before 1295 had been Great Councils of Magnates only; until his time, 'knights of the shire' had only been summoned occasionally; 'burgesses' were perhaps called in for the first time by Montfort in 1255. Neither knights nor burgesses had been considered a *necessary* part of the Great Council which stood for the old witan. When Edward I. died the *right* of the Commons to be summoned was not yet fully recognised; the Magnates still considered themselves entitled to act as the Great Council. They thought so still, even in the fifteenth century. The Despensers, acting for the king against the barons, had the wit to call a complete parliament and to insist on the claims of the Commons, as being likely to support the king. But the strength of the Commons and the practical necessity for summoning them grew up in Edward III.'s reign because the Government needed money for its wars; the money could not be obtained without taxing the Commons, and the Great Council had no more power than the king to tax the Commons without their own consent legally given. Of that there was never any doubt at all. Thus the summoning of a complete parliament, not merely of a Great Council, became a matter of course after the accession of Edward III. Yet even before the end of his reign we can see the new practice of *packing* the Commons coming in—that is, of 'managing' the elections through the sheriffs, so as to secure the presence of a majority of supporters for a royalist or for a baronial faction. The *rights* of the Commons however, whether packed or not, were thoroughly established by the end of the fourteenth century, and we see parliaments claiming to turn out or to confirm in office ministers appointed by the king, and to control expenditure as well as to levy taxes.

CHAPTER VII

THE HOUSE OF LANCASTER: 1399-1459.

I. England, Scotland and Europe: 1399-1460.

England and the Dynasties — Scotland — France — The Papacy and the Councils—The Turks, the Portuguese, and the Printing Press.

THE deposition of Richard II. by his cousin Henry IV. was the opening scene in the dynastic wars, the long struggle for possession of the crown of England between various members of the royal house who all were, or claimed to be, descendants of Edward III. It was not ended till, exactly a hundred years later, the two last possible 'pretenders' were executed by Henry VII. in 1499.

1. Pretenders.

'De jure' and 'de facto.'

The use of the word 'pretender' makes a warning necessary. To say that a man or woman is 'pretender' to a throne or a title does not mean that his claim to it is not sound in law; it means only that, whether rightly or wrongly, he claims to be the lawful occupant of the throne or title of which he is not in actual possession. However sound his claim may be, he remains a 'pretender' till he is in actual possession, just as, however unsound his claim may be, he is king as long as he is in actual possession even when he may also be quite properly called a usurper. We may put it in another way, in order to explain two other phrases which we shall have to use sometimes; a pretender is one who claims to be king *de jure*, *i.e.* by legal right, though he is not king *de facto*, *i.e.* as a matter of hard fact. Thus Richard before his deposition was king both *de facto* and *de jure*; after his deposition, he was no longer king *de facto* but only a pretender claiming to be king *de jure*. Henry IV. was actually and unmistakably king *de facto*, while claiming that he was also king *de jure*, which would only be true if parliament had the lawful right of deposing one king and putting another in his place. But Henry was not a pretender. Yet there was one other person who might (but did not) become a pretender—the little earl of March, Edmund Mortimer. To prevent possible confusion, we may add here that the *title to* a throne or an estate means the legal ground on which the throne or estate is claimed, and that is why it is said that the kings of the House of Lancaster held the throne by a parliamentary title—the legal ground on which they held it was a declaration by parliament.

Lancaster and York.

Though the Dynastic contest started with an open rebellion and a violent deposition, it did not again become acute (in spite of occasional insurrection and plots) till more than half a century had passed. Then it becomes known to us as the 'Wars of the Roses'—the Red against the White—because they were the emblems of the two rival Houses; that of Lancaster, descended from John of Gaunt, and that of York, descended in the female line from Gaunt's elder brother Lionel of Clarence and in the male line from his younger brother Edmund of York, whose son married the Mortimer heiress. Yet all through that half-century the government and the country were suffering from the consciousness that the House of Lancaster had gained the crown by armed rebellion against a lawful king; and there was hardly a time when men had not, at least in the back of their minds, an uneasy feeling that sooner or later there would be a struggle over the succession. For the one side could always contend that Lionel's great-grandson's lawful claim to succeed Richard had been unlawfully set aside in 1399 and still held good; while the other could maintain that it had then been lawfully decided that the title of John of Lancaster's son was better than that of Lionel's great-grandson, and therefore all descendants of John had a better title than any descendants of Lionel.

The other political feature of the period, in English history, is the renewal of the Hundred Years' War with France, with the brilliant military achievements of Henry v., the revival of the French national spirit, and the final clean sweep of the English out of every one of their French possessions except Calais.

2. Scotland: the Stewarts.

Only twice in three hundred years after Robert Bruce did a grown man succeed to the throne of Scotland. Every reign except those of the first two Stewarts—Robert II. (1370) and Robert III. (1390), both of whom were past fifty, an age reached by no other king of Scots—began with a minority; and consequently with struggles among factions for control of the government. The two Robert Stewarts (the baptismal name of Robert III. was John, but it was changed 'for luck' on his accession on account of John of England, John (Balliol) of Scotland, and John of France) were not strong men and they had little control over their barons, so that matters went not very much better under them than under David Bruce. Scottish history abounds in picturesque incidents, in battle, murder, and sudden death, but we scarcely see in it a picture of political growth as in England. The one feature which is always there is persistent defiance of all English attempts at domination, coupled with persistent alliance with France.

A parliament had been created by Robert Bruce; but there is no growth of parliament, because the kings do not come to the Estates for money, either to carry on the government which they generally neglect, or for wars with the one foreign foe, England, which is left to the irregular enterprise of the border barons, the most powerful of the nobles. It was such an enterprise which brought about the great raid into the north of England which ended in the famous battle commemorated in the ballads of *Otterburn* and *The Hunting of the Cheviot*, otherwise called Chevy Chase; when the Scots captain, a Douglas, was slain, and the English captain, Harry Percy (Shakespeare's Hotspur) was taken prisoner (1388). A picture of the life in Scotland in those days is to be found in Sir Walter Scott's novel *The Fair Maid of Perth.*

The Scots Parliament.

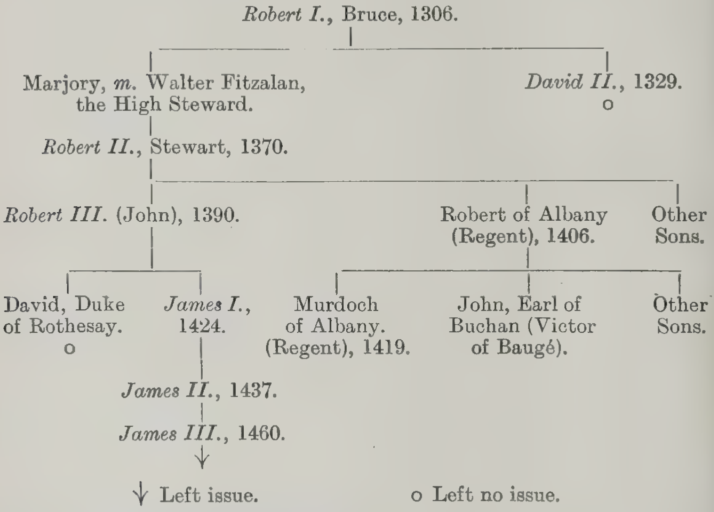
The main point however which we have to notice in comparing Scotland with England at this time is that the Scots parliament, since it could not back its demands by withholding necessary supplies, had nothing interesting to do; so that when it was summoned it turned over its work to a committee called the Lords of the Articles, made up from that faction which at the time could bring up the largest number of armed men; the faction which, for the time, had the government in its hands. There was nothing which, like the English parliament, could express a general public opinion to which the government had to pay attention. The government was simply the faction which at the moment had the most troops at its disposal.

The Scots rulers.

When Henry IV. seized the English crown, Robert III. (christened John) was still king of Scotland; but the actual control soon afterwards passed into the hands of his brother Robert, duke of Albany (at one time the ancient name of the Scots kingdom). For eighteen years after King Robert's death in 1406, Duke Robert and then his son Murdoch of Albany were at the head of the Scottish government, because the young king James I. was a prisoner in England while Scottish troops were fighting in France on the side of the French against the English. On his release there were thirteen years of vigorous rule till James was murdered; then there came a long minority during which rival factions strove for the mastery, and the Douglases became so powerful that when young James II. grew up there followed a fierce struggle between the king and the Douglases, a sort of Scots version of the English Wars of the Roses, which ended in the ruin of the elder branch of that family, but not of the younger who were earls of Angus.

SCOTTISH DYNASTIES

The Bruces and Stewarts


Robert I., Bruce, 1306.
Marjory, *m.* Walter Fitzalan, the High Steward.
David II., 1329.
o
Robert II., Stewart, 1370.
Robert III. (John), 1390.
Robert of Albany (Regent), 1406.
Other Sons.
David, Duke of Rothesay.
o
James I., 1424.
Murdoch of Albany. (Regent), 1419.
John, Earl of Buchan (Victor of Baugé).
Other Sons.
James II., 1437.
James III., 1460.
↓ Left issue.
o Left no issue.

3. France.

France is still during this period the one other country with which the fortunes of the British nations are closely bound up. There as in England the practice of gathering great lordships into the hands of various members of the royal family was already bearing a like evil fruit before Richard was dethroned. When Charles the Wise died in 1380 his next brother Louis (and his descendants after him) became absorbed in claims to Provence (still outside the French kingdom) and to the crown of Naples, which withdrew that branch of the family from taking an active share in French politics. But his youngest brother, Philip of Burgundy, lord of a French dukedom and also of many wide lordships and counties in the Netherlands and on the Rhine which lay not in France but in the empire, was not much less powerful than the king of France himself.

Burgundians and Armagnacs.

Charles vi. (1380-1422), the son who succeeded Charles the Wise on the French throne, was never wise himself, and soon became liable to fits of downright insanity. The result of this was that his younger brother Louis duke of Orleans—who, if Charles died before him without leaving any sons, would succeed to the throne—naturally wanted to be the real head of the government, while his uncle Philip of Burgundy, the most powerful of all the great nobles, was equally determined to hold the control; and so France was divided into the two hostile factions of 'Burgundians' and 'Orleanists.' The factions grew fiercer after Philip's death in 1404, when his son John the Fearless became duke of Burgundy. In 1407 Louis of Orleans was assassinated; his young son Charles of Orleans was married to the daughter of Bernard count of Armagnac, who now became the leader of the Orleanist faction, from this time generally known as the Armagnacs. There was now a blood-feud between the Houses of Burgundy and Orleans, so that the hostility of the factions was fiercer than ever; and this hostility made France a comparatively easy prey for the ambition of Henry v. of England.

So in 1415 began the second great struggle of the Hundred Years' War, which went on for nearly forty years, and ended with the expulsion of the English in 1453. During the latter part of this struggle, the power of Burgundy outside France was greatly extended under Duke Philip ii., the son of John the Fearless, who by marriage had become lord of all the Netherlands (now in the present century forming the two separate kingdoms of Holland and Belgium). So that after this we shall find that Burgundy has become a principality so great that its next duke, Charles the Rash, tried to make it into an independent kingdom, a 'middle kingdom' lying between France on the west and the empire on the east.

4. The Empire.

France and England were too much taken up with their own affairs to be deeply influenced by or interested in what was going on in the rest of Europe during this period. Yet the changes that were taking place were soon to affect them no less than the empire and Italy. In the first place Wenzel and his brother Sigismund after him failed to establish the imperial supremacy of the House of Luxemburg, of which their father Charles iv. had tried to lay the foundations; and so it came about that a Hapsburg, Albert ii., became king of the Romans in 1437 on Sigismund's death; and from that time till the 'Holy Roman Empire' came to an end in 1806 there was only

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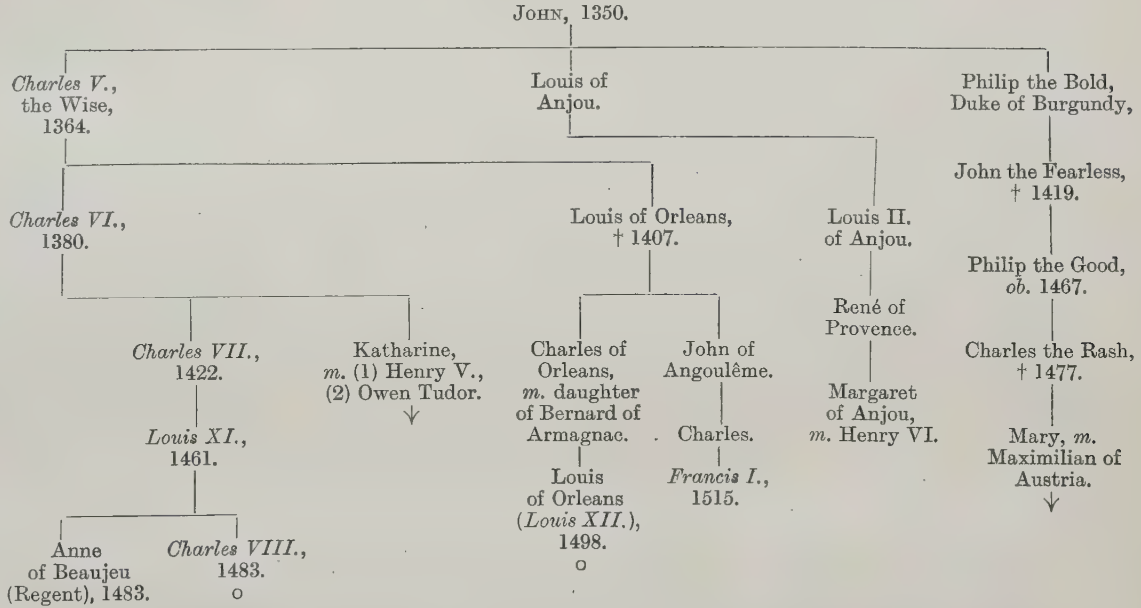
THE VALOIS: FRANCE, ANJOU, AND BURGUNDY


JOHN, 1350.
Charles V., the Wise, 1364.
Louis of Anjou.
Philip the Bold, Duke of Burgundy,
John the Fearless, † 1419.
Charles VI., 1380.
Louis of Orleans, † 1407.
Louis II. of Anjou.
Philip the Good, *ob.* 1467.
René of Provence.
Charles VII., 1422.
Katharine, *m.* (1) Henry V., (2) Owen Tudor. ↓
Charles of Orleans, *m.* daughter of Bernard of Armagnac.
John of Angoulême.
Charles the Rash, † 1477.
Louis XI., 1461.
Charles.
Margaret of Anjou, *m.* Henry VI.
Mary, *m.* Maximilian of Austria. ↓
Louis of Orleans (*Louis XII.*), 1498. ○
Francis I., 1515.
Anne of Beaujeu (Regent), 1483.
Charles VIII., 1483. ○

↓ Left issue.   ○ Left no issue.

one emperor (in the eighteenth century) who was not of the Austrian House. Albert's immediate successor (1440) was not the son born just after his death (and therefore called Ladislas Posthumus), to whom went the two royal crowns of Bohemia and Hungary, but his cousin Frederick III., duke of Styria—who reigned, but did not govern, for over fifty years.

End of the Schism.

In the second place the Great Schism was brought to an end. When there were three rival popes all at once, the scandal had reached such a pitch that by common consent a General Council of the Church was assembled at Constance (1414) which deposed all the three popes and set up a new one, Martin V. Martin and his successors for half a century were strong enough to recover much of the old papal authority, and the Pope again counted among the important princes of Europe. But even by this fact, one of the aims with which the Council had been summoned was thwarted. It had been intended that General Councils should act as the supreme authority in the Church, above the Pope himself; but the popes got the authority into their own hands, although the notion survived that they could not defy an appeal to a General Council.

But another thing the Council of Constance did was to burn the Bohemian doctor, John Huss, as a heretic. Huss was a doctor at the great university of Prague, where he taught doctrines probably suggested by the writings, or the disciples, of the English Wiclif. This teaching became popular at the university, while it was angrily condemned by the orthodox clergy. When the Council met at Constance, Huss was summoned to answer for his opinions; he came under a 'safe conduct' or promise of security from Sigismund who was then king of the Romans; Sigismund had not courage enough to keep his promise and Huss was condemned and burnt as a heretic. The result of this was that Bohemia, which had accepted his teaching, rose in arms, and for many years central Europe was deluged with blood in the Hussite wars which foreshadowed the great Wars of Religion in the next two centuries.

THREE other matters must be touched upon here; the advance of the Turks, the progress of the Portuguese maritime explorers, and an invention which has done more than anything else for the spreading of knowledge.

When the Black Prince was in Aquitaine, the Turks began their invasion of the Balkan peninsula. The Greek emperor held Constantinople and very little besides; the two principal kingdoms were Serbia and Bulgaria. Before the fourteenth century was over, the Ottoman invaders had forced those two states to submit to them. Western Europe was deaf to the emperor's appeals for aid, and he too had to promise tribute to the Moslem power. The Turks threatened Hungary. King Sigismund (afterwards emperor) marched against them and was defeated in a great battle at Nicopolis (1396). Then the flood was stopped for a time; another conqueror, Timur or Tamerlaine—Turk, but not Ottoman—from the heart of Asia swept down and almost shattered the Ottoman power. But he turned again to the East. The Ottomans recovered. In the second quarter of the fifteenth century they strove in vain to conquer the mountainous regions of Albania; but in 1453 Mohammed the Conqueror turned his arms against Constantinople. Europe still paid no heed, and after a glorious resistance against overwhelming odds the great city, for a thousand years the seat of the empire of the Caesars and long the bulwark of Christendom against Islam, became the capital of the Turkish empire.

5. The Turks.

And meanwhile, the little state of Portugal was doing a great work. With her seaboard on the Atlantic, her sailors began to explore where no European seamen had ventured before, along the western coast of North Africa. Year by year they crept down, farther and farther, directed by Prince Henry 'the Navigator,' the son of John of Lancaster's daughter. Before the century was half over, they had doubled round the shoulder of the great continent. The time was drawing near when they were to reach its southern extremity, and to open the ocean route to India.

Portugal.

But some people would say that an event more important than any of these took place during these years. About 1442 the printing press was invented. The German Gutenberg is generally called its inventor. Hitherto, if copies of a book were wanted, every copy had to be written out. The printing press meant that scores or hundreds or even thousands of copies could be made by passing so many sheets through the press, when the cut letters had once been properly arranged. Of course it was still a long time before the printing press came into common use; but not so very long before it was bringing the chance of reading and learning within reach of a constantly increasing number of people who had had no such chance before.

The Printing Press.

II. Henry IV.: 1399-1413.

The Rebellions—Crown, Church, and Parliament—Close of the Reign.

1. Henry IV.'s uncertain seat.

The reign of Henry IV. was 'unquiet' as it deserved to be. The chance of snatching the crown had presented itself; he had seized it, and he was king. But he owed his victory to the unpopularity of Richard's favourites, to the active support of nobles who had no intention of letting him forget how much he was in their debt, to the active support of those churchmen who were led by Archbishop Arundel, and to the favour of the House of Commons which meant to surrender none of the authority which it had gained by the appeal he had made to it.

The Opposition—those who might have formed a royalist party on Richard's side—had been taken by surprise and checkmated before they realised what was going on. Plots and counter-plots began, were betrayed or detected, and suppressed. Old York's son, Rutland, was generally mixed up with them and generally managed to betray them, so that he ended by being pardoned and succeeding to his father's dukedom. Richard, a few months after his deposition, died a prisoner at Pontefract Castle, either as a result of ill-treatment or by deliberate murder—as the world believed and Henry denied. Some of his supporters were deprived of their estates which were distributed among Henry's friends.

The Percy rebellion.

But there were 'friends' whom Henry did not trust—especially the Percies. Owen Glendower, a Welsh descendant of Llewelyn, started a private war on the Marches, avoided all attempts to suppress or capture him, and in 1402 took prisoner Edward Mortimer, brother of Roger and uncle of the boy Edmund whose claim to succeed Richard had been passed over. In the same year the Scots raided into the north of England but were routed at Homildon Hill by the Percies, much as they had once been routed at Halidon Hill by Edward III.; Albany's son Murdoch, earl of Fife, was taken prisoner, with the earl of Douglas and many others.

Henry demanded that the prisoners should be handed over to him. The Percies, with feudal custom on their side, refused. Mortimer, a prisoner in Wales, ransom being refused by Henry, married his captor's daughter. His own sister was the wife of Northumberland's son Hotspur, an experienced soldier. The Percies, Mortimer, and Glendower, united to proclaim that Henry was a usurper; that Richard, if (as rumour ran) he was really alive still, must be restored and that, if he were dead, the crown belonged by right to the young earl of March. Douglas, freed without ransom by the Percies, joined Hotspur as a comrade in arms. Hotspur marched to Shrewsbury, to join forces with Glendower, but was there met by Henry—before the Welsh arrived—and slain in the course of a particularly hard-fought battle; in which the young Prince of Wales distinguished himself, though he did not slay the veteran Hotspur, who was twenty years older, with his own hand (1403), as he is made to do in Shakespeare's *1 Henry IV*.

Later rebellions.

The great Percy rebellion was broken. Northumberland however, who had not been at Shrewsbury, was pardoned and left to make further trouble. Two years later he started a fresh insurrection, which was joined by Richard Scrope, archbishop of York, and Mowbray of Nottingham, the son of Henry's old adversary. The insurgents (Northumberland again had kept away from the army) were met by the king's forces, and tricked by promises of pardon and redress into laying down their arms; whereupon they were set upon and dispersed by the royal troops. The leaders were seized and executed, in spite of Arundel's intervention on behalf of his brother archbishop. So ended the second rebellion. Northumberland, who escaped to Scotland, made a third attempt in 1408, when he was slain in a fight at Bramham Moor. Through all these years, Glendower had remained irrepressible in Wales, and was never completely subdued, keeping up his hill-warfare till his death in 1416. After 1408 there were no more rebellions, nor serious troubles with Scotland—for the young King James had been captured on the way to France in 1406, and detained in England as a hostage, and the regent Albany's son, captured at Shrewsbury, was also in Henry's hands.

2. Henry's policy.

There had been only one possible pretext for dethroning Richard—that his rule had set the law at naught. The man who dethroned him must profess himself the champion of the law and of the view that the king is the servant of the law: or else he must secure his position by terror, the display of irresistible force. There was no irresistible force at Henry's back; he could not afford to attempt playing the tyrant; and therefore he had to conciliate each of the forces in the State which had legal rights of its own to claim and insist upon: he must conciliate the Church and the Commons, and he must either conciliate or strike down the most dangerous of the nobles.

He was able, as we have seen, to crush the refractory barons, but only because he kept on his side the Church, the Commons, and the bulk of the baronage. Which needed careful steering, because the Church and the Commons were by no means at one.

Lollardy.

We have seen that Lollardy had three sides. It began as a movement against clerical influence and wealth; it went on to challenge religious doctrines taught by the Church; it spread as a movement against property. Archbishop Arundel, the most skilful of the statesmen round Henry, saw in the spread of Lollardy the greatest threat to the power of the Church; he saw also that the way to set all the propertied classes against it was to insist that Lollardy sought to turn the social order upside down; and he judged that it could only be directly suppressed by punishing not its political opinions but its heretical doctrines. Most people fought shy of heresy, and if at the back of their minds they suspected heretics of being revolutionists, they would approve the suppression of heresy. Guided by Arundel, Parliament and Church united to call for a drastic law against heretics. The Church had its own punishments for heresy, but that was not enough. The first Act of Parliament against heresy (*De Heretico Comburendo*, 'of the burning of heretics') was passed in 1401. Any one condemned by the Church courts for heresy was to be handed over to the 'secular arm'—the lay authorities—and burnt at the stake. The Act ensured to Henry the continued support of the churchmen; John of Gaunt's early connection with Wiclif made it all the more necessary that the son should show no favour to his followers. But there was only one victim in the first nine years.

The Parliaments.

Henry's parliaments were constantly troublesome. He needed money; for he had found it necessary to distribute among his partisans not only the confiscated estates of opponents but royal estates as well. The House of Commons granted what was necessary, but never without grumbling and reproving the king and his Council for reckless extravagance—though they changed their tune when Arundel offered to resign the chancellorship, knowing that as a matter of fact the finances were carefully managed. They worried the Government, more because it gave them an agreeable sense of their own power than for any other reason—the Crown and the Church, they felt, must be kept in their proper places, and must understand that without the goodwill of the Commons they would be powerless, for want of supplies. They even suggested in 1404 that the State might very well relieve taxation of the laity by appropriating the whole of the Church's revenues for one year. Very possibly the barons would have supported the idea if they had not coupled with it the awkward proposal that the Crown should claim back all the royal estates which it had granted away since the later years of Edward III. The Church might have been willing to rob the barons, and the barons the Church; but when it was proposed by the Commons that they should both be robbed, they combined to denounce both proposals as rank Lollardy, and Henry felt that he could safely reject the petition of the Commons. Yet six years later there was another proposal for a large confiscation of Church property.

3. The Beauforts.

The last five years of Henry's reign were troubled not by rebellion but by factions, since a party was formed which resented Arundel's influence. It was at this stage that the Beaufort family became prominent. John of Gaunt had married as his third wife Katharine Swynford, after she had already borne him three sons and a daughter who were therefore the half-brothers and half-sister of King Henry. Not having been born in wedlock they were illegitimate—that is, they had no legal right of succession to property. This could be, and was, changed by a special Act of Parliament which 'legitimated' them for ordinary purposes but would not have given them in any case the right of succeeding to the throne of England. Of the three brothers, the eldest had been made earl of Somerset, the second earl of Dorset (and some time later of Exeter), and the third became bishop of Winchester, and later a cardinal. Dorset and the bishop were both important people all their lives, and Somerset's children—he died in 1410—became important later, as we shall see.

Prince Hal.

These Beauforts, as the near kinsmen of the king, headed the opposition to Arundel's influence; and they were joined by the Prince of Wales, the 'Madcap Hal' of tradition, who since Shrewsbury had done a good deal of hard work in Wales, but otherwise had a reputation for wildness. Opposition to Arundel meant opposition to King Henry, and there were quarrels between the king and the prince, while the next brother Thomas of Clarence was joined to the Arundel party. Between the two groups however there was no real difference in policy except one which arose quite by accident. In 1411, when the Beauforts were dominant in the Council, civil war was going on in France between Burgundians and Armagnacs. Burgundy invited English help, at a price, and an expedition was sent which gave him some aid. But the Beaufort party pressed its advantage too hard and proposed that the king who was in very bad health should abdicate in favour of the Prince of Wales; whereupon they were all dismissed. The next step was a counter-proposal from the Armagnacs, which was accepted by Arundel, and another expedition went to help the Armagnacs in 1412 against the Burgundians. Then the French king Charles had an interval of sanity, the strife was stopped, and the English withdrew. But it was the prince's party which had helped Burgundy, and so when the prince became king and made war upon France, Burgundy was never more than half-hearted in acting against him.

Early in 1413 Henry IV. died, prematurely worn out by anxiety and disease though he was only forty-five; and Henry V. ascended the throne.

III. Henry V.: 1413-1422.

Henry the Conqueror—Harfleur and Agincourt—The Conquest—Henry V. and Edward I.

1. Henry V.

THERE is no doubt at all that the accession of Henry V. was viewed with some alarm. As Prince of Wales he had certainly done hard work, but it had been chiefly in Wales; he had been headstrong and insubordinate; his private life was reputed to be wild and irregular. But from the moment when he became king he was a changed man—or at least something very different from what had been expected; not unlike Robert Bruce. Tradition and Shakespeare have made him a heroic figure, and there is much about him that really was heroic. As with Edward III. and the Black Prince, his victories against enormous odds appeal to our imagination, and excite the admiration due to dauntless courage and skill in arms; and he was a greater soldier than either of them because he planned for a great deal more than the winning of a victory when he met the foe in the field. But we have learnt that the fame of being a great conqueror is not a noble ideal for a king to pursue; and in the twentieth century, we have become inclined to condemn Henry too severely for pursuing it, forgetting that, in his own day, kings and nations alike counted it above everything else. The conquest of France was the purpose of Henry's life, and he went a long way towards achieving it though he died when he was only thirty-four. We can see that in the end no good would have come of it if he had succeeded; but that was a truth which no man of his time would have understood.

Henry had no justification for making war on France; he wanted to do so, partly because a successful war would do more than anything else could to secure the loyalty of England to the Lancaster dynasty, partly from the desire for military fame, partly because he believed that France and England united under one crown would be the mightiest power in the world—it did not strike him that they could never really be united into a single nation, because the French and the English were too different from each other. Having no justification, he had to invent one which would satisfy his own conscience and that of the nation. He did actually invent two.

Reasons for the French War.

The first—mainly convincing to himself—was that he had been chosen by the Almighty to redeem France from the slough of iniquity in which she was sinking. The second, sufficient for the English people, was that Edward III. had been the true heir to the French throne, not Philip of Valois; from which it must follow that he, being the true heir to Edward III., was also the true heir to the French throne. The obvious answer was that by the law of succession through females, under which Edward had claimed the French crown, his heir was not Henry but the young earl of March; that however was quietly brushed aside. If Henry himself had any qualms of conscience, they were removed by the churchmen who declared that Right was on his side; we can only suppose that they did so, because they thought that by encouraging a popular war they would silence the growing demands of the Commons for the confiscation of Church property and the removal of clerical counsellors.

So demands were sent to France—either for the crown or for the restoration in full sovereignty of all territories that had ever been held in France by any Plantagenet. The distracted French Government made very large offers, but Henry would have nothing less than the whole—if they did not concede such just and moderate demands, the responsibility for the war would lie upon them, not on him! No one in France could admit such outrageous claims—Henry had neither expected nor intended that they should—so he prepared for conquest. In the late summer of 1415, a little more than two years after his accession, the expedition sailed.

The Challenge.

There had been two plots against the new king, one at the beginning and the other at the end of the two years. The first was a Lollard plot, because Henry had already shown himself a fervent foe of heresy. Its aim was obscure; the skill and vigour with

2. Plots crushed.

which the king crushed it were the first proofs of his swiftness of decision and action in an emergency. The second was concocted by the earl of Cambridge, husband of Edmund Mortimer's sister Anne, and brother of the childless duke of York, the Rutland of Henry IV.'s first years. Cambridge meant to set his brother-in-law Mortimer on the throne, but the earl of March would have nothing to do with the plot, which was discovered just before the expedition sailed. Cambridge was executed; but he left a two-year-old son who many years later was to claim the crown for himself from Henry's son.

Harfleur.

The French war was extremely popular. The melancholy failures which followed the twenty years of victory crowned by the treaty of Bretigny rankled in the minds of Englishmen; who thirsted to revive the glories of Crecy and Poictiers and troubled themselves very little about the justice of the quarrel. Henry was simply taking advantage of the distracted state of France to secure a second gateway besides Calais and a foothold in Normandy to serve as a base from which he could first bring all the duchy under his sway and then go on to subdue the whole country. The point of attack was Harfleur which fell after a month's siege, when the town had abandoned the hope that a French army would come to relieve it. Burgundians and Armagnacs were too busy in thwarting each other to take combined action against the English menace. Henry had got what he needed; he was not ready for further conquest; his troops, suffering from sickness, were not much more than enough to garrison Harfleur so as to make it thoroughly secure. But Henry resolved to march with a small force through Normandy to Calais. There was no doubt the chance that the armies of France would gather, and would wipe him out; but on the other hand, if either he marched through Normandy unchecked, or met and defeated a superior French force, it would be long before the Government or the armies of France could recover from the disgrace.

Agincourt.

Henry took the risk. With some six thousand men, mostly archers, he started on the march. The French leaders were shamed into an effort to punish his audacity, though even then Duke John of Burgundy himself held aloof. As with Edward before Crecy, a great French force barred the passage of the Somme, but Henry succeeded in crossing by an ill-defended bridge. Pushing on he found his way blocked at Agincourt, but was able to take up a position with a narrow front and both flanks covered—like the victors of Crecy and Bannockburn.

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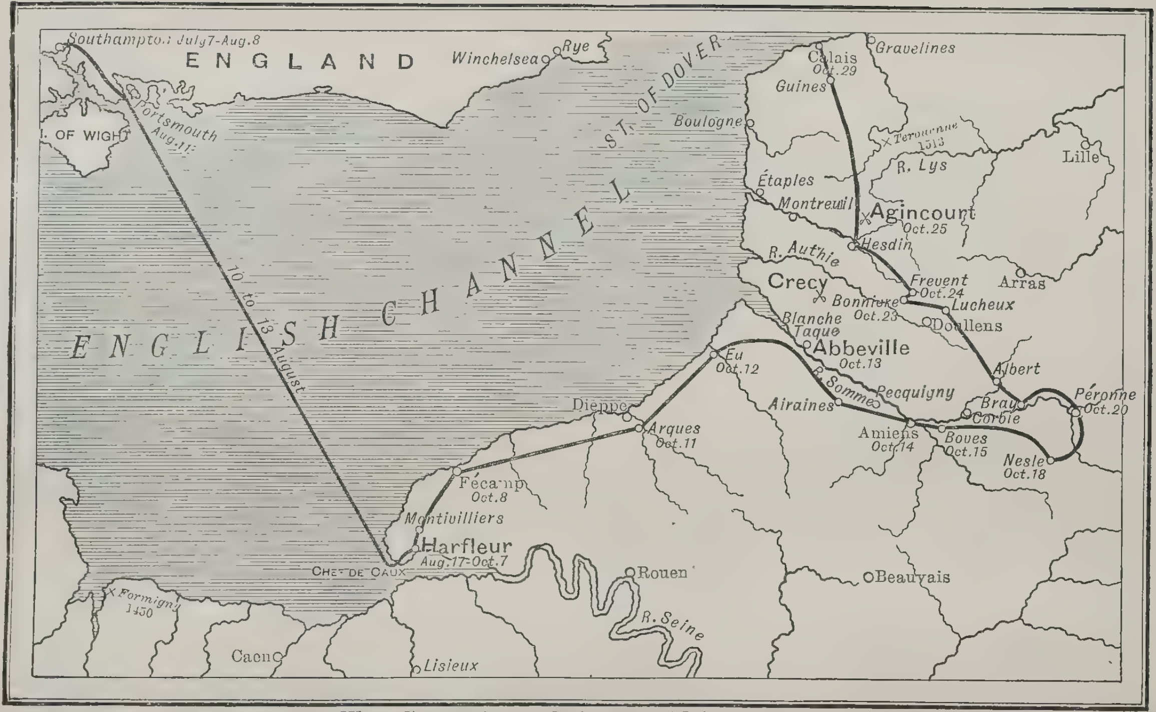

The Campaign of AGINCOURT 1415.

This time both sides fought on foot. The French were at least three to one; most of them were heavily armed—mail-clad spearmen. Five-sixths of the English were light-armed archers. But when the French masses moved slowly to the attack, across sodden ploughland into which they sank at each step, they fell under the hail of arrows as the charging horsemen had fallen at Crecy; and when they did come to hand-strokes, they were at the mercy of the lightly-armed and light-footed Englishmen. The triumph at Agincourt was as startling and as complete as those of Crecy and Poictiers. There fell on the field six score Englishmen and six thousand Frenchmen, three-fourths of whom were of gentle blood: a thousand prisoners were taken, Orleans among them. The victory however was one of which no farther use could be made, and three weeks later the victors had crossed from Calais to England, where Henry found himself the idol of the whole people.

3. Conquest of Normandy.

HENRY had learnt however once for all that the conquest of France was not to be achieved by even the most audacious and brilliant of raids. He held the gate of Normandy securely at Harfleur, and he spent nearly two years in preparations before his second invasion in 1417. Meanwhile the French king's third son Charles had become dauphin and was wholly in the hands of the Armagnacs, and Burgundy's heart was more than ever inclined to the English friendship (though he dared not avow it) which was always to his advantage as lord of the Netherlands.

So when Henry reappeared in Normandy he set about reducing town after town without interference from a French army, and one after another capitulated and came in to his allegiance, in disgust at being deserted. In the autumn of the second year he began the siege of Rouen. The French queen Isabel had joined Burgundy; the dauphin was with Armagnac; Paris favoured Burgundy and expelled the Armagnacs. Henry besieged Rouen and gradually reduced it to starvation, refusing to let any of the inhabitants pass out, and meanwhile played at negotiations with the dauphin on one side and Burgundy on the other. In January 1419 Rouen fell.

The subjection of the remainder of Normandy continued month after month. Burgundy at last attempted a reconciliation with the dauphin; an agreement was reached; Duke John came to take the oath of allegiance to the prince at Montereau, and in the act of doing so he was murdered. For his heir, the new Duke Philip, there was no possibility of forgiving the crime. He and the queen, with the mad king in their hands, came to terms with Henry and in May 1420 the treaty of Troyes was signed. The dauphin was disinherited; Charles VI. was to wear the crown during his life; meanwhile his daughter Catherine was to marry Henry who was to be regent of France and was to succeed Charles on the throne.

Treaty of Troyes.

Henry married the French princess; but the Armagnacs, now definitely the patriotic party, and French patriots generally whatever their party, would have nothing to do with the treaty. The war of subjugation went on. At the end of the year Henry himself returned to England, leaving the command in France to his brother Thomas of Clarence, in alliance with Philip of Burgundy—and always with the pretence that after the treaty resistance was rebellion. Then in 1421 Clarence was defeated and killed at Baugé, a victory won by the Scottish troops who were fighting on the French side. They too were 'rebels' since the Scottish Government was officially at peace with England, and the Scottish king was still a hostage in the English king's hands. The vigour of the rebels, French and Scottish, revived.

Henry returned to France; victory returned to the English. Fortress after fortress fell in the tedious war of sieges. But the conqueror's career was closing. Dysentery fell upon his troops and then upon him. In August 1422 he died, the conquest not half completed, though the greater part of northern France had been brought under his rule. All the campaigning had been in the north; in the south he was still lord of nothing but Guienne when the hand of death took him.

4. Henry V. and Edward I.

Henry V. is very nearly akin in character to his great ancestor Edward I. Each was conscientious; each followed always what he believed to be the path of duty, but managed to persuade himself that the path of ambition and the path of duty were the same. Each persuaded himself that he had a right to a crown which was not his. Each died at a moment when it seemed that victory was certain. Twenty years after Edward's death, thirty years after Henry's death, every vestige of victory had vanished; because each had set out to win something that was essentially unjust, and something which, if it had been won, could only have been kept by sheer force. Similarly, both kings when they waged war waged it without mercy, believing that in the long run bloodshed would be saved by the utter crushing of resistance. At Agincourt, when a fresh attack by the French was reported, Henry did not hesitate to order the killing of the prisoners already taken. To reduce Rouen, he forced the unhappy civilians to remain in the beleaguered city and perish of famine. When a town submitted, those of its population who refused to swear allegiance were suffered to depart, but with nothing more than the clothes on their backs. Yet he was absolutely rigid in enforcing justice and just discipline—as he understood them—on his own troops. The peasantry who were not in arms were sternly protected against any violence or looting. The towns when they submitted were given again the liberties, and the charters, which they had possessed before, though these were accompanied by a military governor and an English—or Burgundian—garrison. The lands that were won suffered more from the lawless ravaging of French than of English troops—and in this Henry stands high above Edward.

And finally we may note this same quality in Henry's treatment of the Lollards. His zeal for religion convinced him that heresy must be stamped out like a dangerous disease. He struck without mercy, and Lollardy did not again raise its head in England till he had been dead for a hundred years—and yet it was Lollardy that won in the end.

IV. Henry VI. : 1422-1459.

Bedford—Joan of Arc—Disaster—English Factions—Gloucester and Suffolk—York and Queen Margaret—The approach of Civil War.

1. Minority of Henry VI.

HENRY V. left an infant son, the hapless Henry VI., and two brothers, John duke of Bedford, and Humphrey duke of Gloucester, of whom the former was appointed by him to the command and the regency in France, while the latter was to be at the head of the Council of Regency in England. Charles VI. followed his son-in-law to the grave after a few weeks, and the infant Henry was proclaimed king of France, while the rival king Charles VII., the dauphin who had murdered John of Burgundy, held his court in the south but did little else.

One thing the dead king had done. He had made the whole country so loyal to the reigning House that nothing short of the grossest misgovernment could shake it. On the Council, beside the Beauforts and such unwavering supporters as Neville of Westmorland and Beauchamp of Warwick, sat a Percy and a Mowbray and, while he lived, Edmund Mortimer. Gloucester was president of the Council, with the title of Protector, but had no more power than the others. Yet his personal ambitions and intrigues were the most serious difficulty with which his brother the 'Regent of France' had to cope.

Bedford, as soldier and statesman, was little if at all inferior to Henry, but not being king he never had the same power of control. In so much of France as had come under allegiance to Henry, he acted not as if the English had conquered the French but as if the new king was simply the lawful heir of the last king; France was France, and England was England, but the rebels against France's lawful king had to be subdued.

Bedford in France.

The gradual subjugation went on. Charles would scarcely move; the hardest fighting was done by the Scots, whom Bedford defeated in two fierce battles at Crévant and Verneuil. But the business was slow. Bedford was on good terms—a matter of much importance—with Philip of Burgundy whose sister he married (she had once been offered as a bride for Henry v. when he was still Prince of Wales); but Gloucester quarrelled with the duke so violently that he all but broke off the alliance. Burgundy's support was necessary to the English, and the quarrel hampered all the military operations. And at the same time, Gloucester was making the government in England difficult by his personal hostility to its real head, Cardinal Beaufort.

In 1428 an English force commanded by Montague, earl of Salisbury, began the siege of Orleans, the capture of which was intended to be the first blow in extending the conquest into the south of France, the whole of the north being now in the hands of English and Burgundians. But the capable Salisbury was killed a few days after the siege began, and his successor in the command—William de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, of whom we shall hear more—contented himself with attempting a blockade though he had not enough troops to invest the town completely. It could easily have been relieved by vigorous action on the part of Charles, but he lay, idle and inactive, at Chinon in Touraine; no relief came. The garrison of Orleans became disgusted and demoralised, as the weeks and months passed and no move was made: it seemed on the verge of surrender. And then came the miracle.

2. Joan of Arc.

It was wrought by a peasant lass from Champagne in the north-east of France—Jeanne Darc of Domrémy, whom Englishmen call Joan of Arc. Intensely religious, she believed—as other enthusiasts have believed of themselves—that voices and visions came to her from God and the saints; and then that these divine messages and messengers had laid upon her a holy duty; she had been chosen to redeem France, to crown her lawful king in the great Cathedral of Rheims (as English kings are crowned in the Abbey of Westminster), to free the land from the dominion of the conqueror. How could a peasant maiden do such things, the work of warriors and statesmen? No project more impossible to all appearance has ever been conceived; yet there was no doubt at all in her mind that she had been appointed by God—with whom all things are possible—to do this impossible thing; no doubt that if she obeyed the divine messengers in utter faith, the thing would be done through her as God's instrument. Her faith convinced others, in defiance of all reason; they brought her to the court at Chinon. The court scoffed; but by her persistence she obtained an audience of Charles. Somehow he began to believe that she was possessed of mysterious powers. She was questioned by learned churchmen; she half convinced them of her divine mission by the intensity of her own faith, her perfect innocence, her manifest sincerity. She was so sure that God was her guide that they could hardly help believing her. She should have her way and be allowed to try—and if she failed no harm would have been done.

Joan's victories.

A body of troops was placed under her command; they were soon ready to worship her. She rode to Orleans at their head, clad in complete armour; she entered it, with hardly a movement on the part of the English. The Orleans garrison, inspired by the Maid, became new men. They fought now with enthusiasm, fearing nothing. Panic fell on the English—only sorcery, witchcraft, could have turned an untaught girl into an irresistible captain; they were fighting against the Devil himself. They would not face the Devil—or the Maid. The siege of Orleans was raised.

The Maid led her troops against fortress after fortress; one after another, they fell before her. At Patay she routed a force under the most redoubtable of English captains, John Talbot, and took him prisoner. Then she returned to Chinon, and accompanied Charles through hostile country to Rheims where he was crowned.

The work laid upon her was finished; but they would not let her go home as she wished—they could not part with a leader whom the English dared not face. She remained, against her will; but the voices and visions guided her no longer; and her influence was intolerable to the king's evil counsellors. An attempt to capture Paris failed; the spell was broken. Treachery too was at work; in 1430 treachery delivered her into the hands of the Burgundians, before Compiègne.

Then followed one of the greatest crimes in history. The Burgundians sold their captive to the English. The English, from Bedford down, believed she was a witch—how could she have beaten them so shamefully if she had not been in league with the Powers of Darkness ? They gave her over to be tried for heresy and witchcraft by a Church Court of French bishops and doctors. The Court found that it must declare her mission to have been either from God or from the devil. They decided that it was from the devil, and handed her over to the secular arm—Bedford—to be dealt with ; and she was burnt at the stake in the market-place of Rouen.

The crime of Rouen.

That black crime was not committed by scoundrels, but by sane men, learned men, honourable men, who most of them quite honestly took a hateful lie for truth. Centuries later, the Roman Catholic Church placed on the roll of saints the stainless Maid whom her prelates had once condemned to the stake as a heretic and a witch. To-day, Englishmen vie with Frenchmen in paying honour to the memory of her who drew France from the abyss, gave her back her soul, and broke the tide of English conquest : the memory of her whom the English slew, while the French looked on without raising a finger to save their saviour.

3. The loss of France.

For the moment it seemed that the tide would advance again. But slowly the inspiration which Joan had brought reached the heart of the French people. A coolness grew between English and Burgundians ; Bedford was needed in England to restrain Gloucester, whose intrigues had driven the Council to deprive him of the office of Protector. In Bedford's absence, Normandy rose against the English. On his return he found Paris hostile, and was warned by Duke Philip that the claim to the French crown would have to be dropped. In a conference held at Arras in 1435 the French royalists made an offer which Burgundy declared that England must accept ; she must give up the claim to the crown and content herself with Normandy and Guienne. That was a confession of defeat, from the point of view of the English, a humiliation for the victors of Agincourt. The English Government, with popular sentiment forcing it forward, refused the terms. Burgundy broke off the alliance and joined the patriots. Bedford, worn out, died almost as the futile conference ended.

For eighteen more weary years the struggle was to drag on : but the English cause was finally lost when Bedford was gone. Its doom, we may well feel, had already been sealed in the market-place of Rouen. Year after year, ground was lost ; now and then a little was recovered ;

but the ultimate defeat of England was always certain unless she threw the whole of her energies into the contest, whereas factions and party rivalries absorbed them almost entirely. After the defection of Burgundy, she had little hold upon anything except Normandy, Maine, and Guienne; her last footing in Normandy was lost at the battle of Formigny in 1450; three years later the old 'mastiff' Talbot (the 'English mastiff' in those days meant very much what we mean by the 'British bull-dog' now) was slain at Castillon in Guienne, and the Hundred Years' War was ended. Calais alone was left of all that any Plantagenet had ever owned in France. Wanton aggression had met the fate that it deserved.

We must turn now to the somewhat dreary strife of factions during this period, which first ensured the loss of the French conquests and then led up to the Wars of the Roses.

4. Henry VI.

When Bedford died Henry VI. was a boy of fourteen—feeble of intellect, for he was the grandson of Charles VI.; gentle and pious, but not much less frail in body than feeble in brain, quite incapable of exercising active control. No one thought of questioning his title to the throne. Until he should marry and have a child, the heir-presumptive to the throne was his uncle Humphrey of Gloucester, whose elder brothers Clarence and Bedford had both died childless. There were no other descendants of Henry IV., Humphrey himself being also without children.

Richard of York.

Next to Humphrey in the line of succession was Richard duke of York, who was now nineteen. Richard had a double claim. First, if the right of succession passed through the female line, his title by descent was actually better than that of the reigning king; for though he was himself a Plantagenet he was the only representative of the Mortimers. For his mother was Anne Mortimer, sister of Edmund and daughter of Roger, the grandson of Lionel of Clarence who had been John of Gaunt's elder brother. Edmund had died in 1425, his children had died also, and the sister Anne succeeded to all the rights of the Mortimers.

But if the female line was barred and the Mortimer claim had been lawfully ruled out, Richard was still the next heir-presumptive after Gloucester; for he was the only male descendant in direct male line from another son of Edward III., John of Gaunt's younger brother Edmund of York. This Edmund's elder son, and successor in the dukedom, had fallen at Agincourt, leaving no child; his brother the earl of Cambridge had been executed, but his child—this Richard—was the heir of York as well as the heir of Cambridge, and of the Mortimers through his mother Anne. If Henry and Gloucester both died childless (which was not at all unlikely) Richard of York would be without question the heir to the crown of England.

The Beauforts.

Yet there stood also very close to the throne another family, the Beauforts—the legitimated descendants of John of Gaunt. It was not impossible that some day the Beauforts would make the claim that their descent from the father of Henry IV. gave them a better title than descent from any of his uncles. For the present, no such claim was put forward—for it would certainly have been definitely rejected. But in actual fact, when the last descendant of Henry IV. perished in 1472, the adherents of the House of Lancaster could bring forward no pretender to the throne except one whose only title to it was that his mother was a Beaufort.

When Bedford died, the rivals for the control of the government were Cardinal Beaufort (the last of John of Gaunt's sons) and Humphrey of Gloucester. Humphrey posed as the leader of the extreme war-party who would abate nothing of the claims of Henry VI. Beaufort, like every one else, had rejected the French offer at the Arras conference, but his party soon became a peace-party, ready, that is, to make peace on comparatively reasonable terms. This was the definite line of cleavage in policy, though the real struggle between Gloucester and the Beauforts was not for the success of one policy or the other, but one of personal rivalry.

5. The War.

For the moment every one agreed that the war must be carried on vigorously, and young York, eager to distinguish himself, was sent to take Bedford's place. But no vigour was thrown into the effort. York had no chance of doing anything more than standing on the defensive. In 1439 negotiations were opened, but they came to nothing; Gloucester was not helping vigorous action though he was zealous in denouncing 'shameful' concessions, and the Beaufort party dared not reduce their demands to a point which France could accept.

Then in 1441 Gloucester fell. In order that he might become king, his silly wife tried to compass the death of the harmless Henry by magic and witchcraft. Her folly was betrayed, and she had to undergo public and ignominious penance: she had only brought her husband into contempt. York had hardly yet become a leader, and for some years the Beaufort party had matters almost in their own hands; not so much the cardinal who was now old, as his nephews, John earl of Somerset and his brother Edmund who succeeded to the earldom on John's death in 1444. Joined with them was William de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, whom we have seen at the siege of Orleans. In 1444 peace negotiations were renewed by Suffolk, which procured only a two years' truce and an extremely unpopular marriage (1445) between the young king and Margaret of Anjou, the dowerless daughter of the penniless King René of Provence, the grandson of Charles v.'s brother Louis of Anjou.

Margaret of Anjou.

The results of the marriage were disastrous. Margaret allied herself closely with Suffolk and Edmund of Somerset, and did almost as she pleased with the feeble king. Out of pure vindictiveness, or fearing that Gloucester might recover power through their own unpopularity, they struck at Duke Humphrey and arrested him on a charge of treason (1447). A few days after the arrest he died, and the world believed that they had murdered him. Even the old cardinal was suspected, though he was himself on his death-bed.

Whether Humphrey had been murdered or not, his death made York the heir-presumptive to the throne and first Prince of the Blood; but he had been sent away to Ireland as governor, and when in England had not been active in the political intrigues. Nothing then was to be feared from him. Suffolk and Somerset thought the field was cleared for them. Suffolk remained in England and Somerset took charge of Normandy. Then it became known that when the truce was made Suffolk had promised to withdraw from Maine. Anger rose high. The troops, when taken away from Maine, broke loose in France and turned to brigandage. The French declared that the truce had been broken, and again invaded Normandy (1449). Next year, Somerset's forces were cut to pieces at Formigny, and all Normandy was irretrievably lost. Only Calais, and Guienne which had never failed in its loyalty, were left.

BEFORE the news came, the angry House of Commons had impeached Suffolk. To save him from trial—and certain condemnation—Henry banished him. His life was in danger from the fury of the populace; he tried to escape in disguise; but he was tracked, captured on the seas, and slain there and then.

Suffolk was hardly dead when the news of Formigny arrived. The popular wrath boiled over. While the nobles sat still, the people would destroy the Government which had brought such shame on the nation. The leader of the insurrection, who called himself John Mortimer, but is generally known as Jack Cade, was probably a soldier of fortune—for he understood something of discipline, and had some military skill; possibly he was connected in some left-handed way with some one of the House of Mortimer. But the evident intention was to make the absent York the figure-head of the rebellion. His followers were the peasantry of Kent and Sussex; wherein the rising resembled Wat Tyler's revolt, and also in the fact that it renewed the old demand for the repeal of the Statute of Labourers. But apart from this, its complaints were all political and national, its denunciations all directed against the sins not of any class but of the existing Government. Little was left by this time of the old grievances, and villeinage had already died a natural death.

6. Cade's rebellion.

The insurgents created much alarm. The Government could not trust its own troops which either ran away or joined the rebels. But when Cade's men took to pillaging, and putting to death the unpopular officials whom they caught, they lost such sympathy as may at first have been felt for them. The promise of a general pardon induced them to disperse. The pardon included 'John Mortimer' but not 'Jack Cade' who was killed; an excuse was found for hanging a few more ringleaders; and the insurrection was over.

But it brought York back to England. The use that had been made of his name almost compelled and certainly excused the intervention of the heir-presumptive. He came in arms, but with no intention of fighting, though Henry or rather Queen Margaret had summoned Somerset—no longer an earl but a duke—back from Calais, and rewarded him with very undeserved honours for the loss of Normandy. A parliament was called which in January attacked Somerset, and demanded the formal recognition of York as heir to the throne. The king's refusal of their petitions pointed to Somerset's intention of asserting his own title to the succession.

York's return.

Still York would not appeal to arms and the court party could not venture a direct attack on him. There was an uneasy truce between the antagonists for a time, while ill-news was coming from Guienne which was stubbornly resisting its gradual subjugation by the forces of France, and some effort was made to reinforce Talbot who was fighting there with his back to the wall. And then in 1453 came the final disaster. Talbot fell at Castillon, and before three months were over Bordeaux at last had opened its gates. Guienne had followed Maine and Normandy; Calais alone was left—not to be lost till another century had passed.

7. Richard and Margaret.

BEFORE Bordeaux fell, Margaret after eight years of wifehood bore a son to King Henry. York was no longer heir-presumptive; between him and the succession lay the heir-apparent in his cradle. And Henry himself had become completely and beyond all question insane. A regency was inevitable. If York was no longer the heir, his claim to the office of regent or protector was too strong to be resisted by the queen and Somerset. Though the Council had for some years been chosen by the king, it was impossible to exclude Richard from it. The parliament which met in 1454 made him protector, and he used his new power with the moderation which had always marked his actions hitherto: only Somerset was deprived of office and kept under guard. But before the year was over Henry's brain-attack passed; the protectorship ended; the king, in Margaret's hands, recalled Somerset and his friends and dismissed from the Council York and his chancellor Richard Neville the elder, earl of Salisbury. It became evident at once that the court party were planning York's complete overthrow, from the terms in which they summoned a Great Council—not a full parliament—to meet at Leicester. York and Salisbury were left with no alternative. They gathered troops and marched upon London. Somerset marched to meet them, and was defeated and slain at St. Albans, which is commonly reckoned as the first fight in the Wars of the Roses, because it was actually the first collision between the armed forces of the two factions. Four years however were still to pass before the real appeal to arms, and five before it became a contest for the crown of England.

The Nevilles.

The family which played the most important part in the contest was that of the Nevilles which had risen to sudden importance. Ralph Neville, earl of Westmorland, one of the great barons of the north, had been like the Percies one of Henry IV.'s original supporters, but unlike the Percies he had always remained loyal to the king whom he had helped to set on the throne. His grandson and successor kept the Lancastrian tradition. But the first earl had by a second marriage a long string of sons and daughters whom we shall find ranged on the Yorkist side—one of them, Cicely, being York's wife. The eldest of this second family, Richard, married the daughter and heiress of William Montague, earl of Salisbury, who was the first commander at the siege of Orleans. Thus Richard Neville became earl of

Salisbury. As Richard of York's brother-in-law, he had been the steady supporter of York's legitimate claim to a leading voice in the counsels of the nation.

His son, Richard Neville the younger, married Anne Beauchamp, heiress of the earl of Warwick. Thus he had become earl of Warwick, and as a politician he acted with his father. Salisbury's brothers—Warwick's uncles—acquired various baronies, and were ranged on the same side; the other sisters were married to the dukes of Norfolk (Mowbray) and Buckingham (Stafford), grandson of the Thomas of Gloucester who was the youngest son of Edward III. So it is easy to see that the Neville connection was extremely powerful so long as it was united.

Warwick.

And York himself was more powerful than any other single noble, not only as first Prince of the Blood Royal after the infant Edward, Prince of Wales, but as duke of York, earl of Cambridge, and earl of March (his Mortimer inheritance), besides having great estates in Ireland deriving from his ancestor Lionel of Clarence.

York's real rival, Queen Margaret, had on her side the whole Beaufort connection (Buckingham's wife was a Neville, but his son's wife was a Beaufort), and with it the power which went with the possession of the Royal or Crown estates, because the king himself—when not actually out of her reach—was always controlled by her influence.

But we can see that there was this great difference between the baronage as it was now and as it had been in the old days of the Barons' Wars. There had come to be a small number of very powerful families which possessed very wide estates instead of a much larger number of families each of them much less powerful. The English feudalism of the fifteenth century had become much more like the continental feudalism in which each great noble was almost an independent prince (which the Conqueror had been at much pains to prevent in England). And what made the likeness still closer was that it had become the practice for the smaller men to pledge themselves to the service of the great men after the early feudal fashion of 'commendation' though without actually becoming their vassals; and thus the big man could bring into the field a great force of retainers besides his actual vassals.

The new baronage.

Two more points have to be noted which concern parliaments. From the time we have now reached and for thirty years to come, the House of Commons if it was summoned at all was carefully 'packed' by the party dominant at the moment; and

The Commons.

was in addition made thoroughly docile by the near neighbourhood of armed forces. But if the dominant faction could not make sure of a docile House of Commons, it did without one and only summoned a 'Great Council' in which it might be dangerous for members of the other party to take an active part even if they could venture to attend it.

The storm gathers.

A few words will suffice to tell of the events that took place between the first battle of St. Albans and the real beginning of the armed struggle in 1459. Though Somerset left sons to carry on his part, his defeat and fall gave York the supreme authority, and the protectorship when Henry had another of his brain-attacks. Still the duke took no vindictive action, professing to believe that Somerset alone had been responsible for his grievances. But his Parliament sent Warwick to be captain of Calais, which practically put the fleet in his hands. Then the king recovered again and dismissed most of the Yorkists on his Council; though Warwick refused to resign his command except by order of Parliament, and Margaret dared not summon one which in the circumstances would certainly be Yorkist. The amiable Henry's one desire was to reconcile the antagonists, and there was another period of uneasy truce. Each side wished to force the other into making the first openly hostile move. In 1459 Salisbury and York, sure that a sudden attack was being prepared, were mustering some troops for self-defence. When the earl in September moved with his force to join York, he gave the other side the case they wanted. Here was the act of open aggression. All loyal men must oppose the aggressor. It mattered little that the force which marched to intercept York was routed at Bloreheath. Public opinion judged that the action taken by York and Salisbury had put them in the wrong.

CHRONOLOGY

1399-1459

England.

(Kings of England, on their accession, are printed in Capitals.)

1399-1413. HENRY IV. of Lancaster.
1401. Statute 'de Heretico.'
1403. Revolt of Percies and Glendower.
1404. Merchant Adventurers' Charter.
1407. Last Percy insurrection.
1413-22. HENRY V.
1415. Harfleur and Agincourt.
1417-20. Conquest of Normandy.
1420. Alliance with Burgundy. Treaty of Troyes.
1421. Battle of Baugé.
1422-61. HENRY VI.
1422-35. Bedford, regent of France.
1429. Joan of Arc at Orleans.
1431. Joan of Arc burnt.
1435. Bedford dies. End of Burgundian Alliance.
1436-53. Expulsion of English from France.
1445. Henry marries Margaret of Anjou.
1450. Formigny. Loss of Normandy. Jack Cade's rebellion.
1453. Loss of Guienne.
1455. First battle of St. Albans.
1459. Bloreheath. First Bill of Attainder.

Scotland, Ireland, and Europe.

(Scottish and Irish events are printed in *Italics.*)

1400-35. Feud between Burgundy and Orleanists, later known as Armagnacs.
1406. *Capture of Crown Prince James: death of Robert III.*
1407-24. *The Albany regency.*
1411. Battle of Harlaw.
1414-18. Council of Constance.
1415. John Huss burnt.
1417. Restoration of the Papacy.
1419. Murder of John of Burgundy.
1419-36. Hussite Wars.
1421. *Scots at Baugé.*
1422-61. Charles VII., king of France.
1424-37. *James I. (restored) in Scotland.*
1437-60. *James II., king.*
1440-93. Frederick III. of Hapsburg, emperor. The succession becomes hereditary.
1442. Gutenberg's printing press.
1453. The Turks take Constantinople.
1455. *James II. crushes the Black Douglases.*
1459. *York in Ireland.*

PARLIAMENT AND COUNCIL IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

In 1399, Parliament had for the second time—the first time was in 1327—pronounced the deposition of one king and declared that the crown belonged lawfully to another. So Henry IV. was dependent on it, as no king had been before him, though as yet it had not the training to take the real control of government into its hands—only, the king's government had to keep it in a good temper. Henry V.'s popularity made that easy for him. On his death the royal authority practically passed into the hands of the Council—the king's council or Privy Council which had grown up out of the Curia Regis, from which the king's Courts of Justice had also grown. And this Council had always kept in its hands some ill-defined rights of acting as a Royal Court of Justice. Henry VI. was himself of so little account, first from his youth and then from his madness, that the Council itself was appointed largely by parliament, while active control of it was in the hands of one faction or another among the powerful nobles. But whenever there was a strong king, the Council were simply the servants whom he chose or dismissed at will.

During this period there is a change in the franchise, the right of electing the members of the Commons. Formerly it had belonged to all 'freeholders' of land (all who were not villeins) and other persons who had a certain income. Now the qualification was raised—the freehold must be of a certain size, and a larger income was required. Though the old villeins were no longer serfs, they did not become freeholders in law and did not acquire the franchise. Also the magnates were gaining an increasing control over the elections, so that several of them could make sure that their own districts would elect their own supporters. Thus the Commons to a large extent represented the factions among the nobles. After the Wars of the Roses broke out, the Commons, whenever parliament was called, were merely the partisans of what happened to be the victorious faction at the moment. Still the fact remained that no king, however strong he might be, claimed that he had the right to make laws or to impose taxation without consent of parliament. What the strong kings did was to make sure in one way or another that parliament would give its consent to the legislation or taxation they wanted.

THE FORCES

The French wars of Edward III. could not be carried on year after year on the old basis of the feudal levy and the fyrd. In one way or another the king had to hire troops. War was becoming a much more expensive affair for the Crown, and this was the chief reason why the Crown grew more and more dependent on the goodwill of parliament, without which it could not get enough supplies. Edward could not carry on his war without having paid troops besides the feudal levies. This he managed in three ways. First, besides occasionally hiring foreign mercenaries in the old fashion, he bargained with knights who had made a reputation as soldiers that they should recruit companies of volunteers serving under them for pay. Secondly, instead of trying to call up the fyrd, he issued what were called Commissions of Array. The sheriffs were required to 'press' a certain number of men whom they selected from the muster-roll of the fyrd. The selected man had either to serve himself or to find some one else to take his place; but he got better pay if he chose to serve, and if he wished he could usually find a willing substitute. Thirdly, the king, or the king's officers, or the captains with whom he had made contracts or agreements, hired companies of archers. Thus the great majority of the men who fought in the wars went not under legal compulsion, but because they chose—whether it was for glory, or for pay, or for the chance of booty. When the war was over they were disbanded and went home, unless they found some rich noble who was willing to take them into his service as paid 'retainers.' This system continued throughout the Hundred Years' War. But in the fourteenth century the feudal levies counted less and less not only with the kings but with the nobles, who had instead growing armies of paid retainers; very much as agricultural 'services' were disappearing in favour of labour paid by money-wages.

CHAPTER VIII

THE PASSING OF THE MIDDLE AGES: 1459-1485

I. The Last of the Barons: 1459-1471.

The fight for the Crown—The King and the King-maker—
Barnet and Tewkesbury.

1. Flight of York.

The fight at St. Albans had not been the beginning of civil war—it had been only a warning that the appeal to arms might before long prove the only solution of the strife of factions. Bloreheath, though it was of no military importance, did actually kindle the civil war. It meant that York must either fight or be crushed—and for the moment it appeared that though Salisbury had been victorious in the skirmish, York was not strong enough to resist the forces of the king's Government. Margaret had succeeded in making it appear that he was in rebellion, and his more moderate supporters were not yet prepared to join in rebellion. He withdrew to Ireland where he was safe; Salisbury succeeded in joining Warwick at Calais. Margaret thought the victory was won; and a packed parliament was summoned at Coventry.

Acts of Attainder.

This parliament is of importance for a single reason; it began a new method of attacking political opponents. We have seen impeachment by the House of Commons, before the Peers as judges, started by the Good Parliament in 1376. We have seen barons 'appealing' each other of treason, and the accused brought to trial or permitted to claim instead the Ordeal by Battle. The new plan was to do without trial altogether and to proceed by *Bill of Attainder* in parliament. That is to say, a Bill was brought into parliament declaring that particular persons were guilty of treason. If a Bill is passed by the two houses of parliament and receives the Royal Assent, it becomes an Act of Parliament; whatever it lays down is from that time—or until the Act is repealed—the law. An Act of Attainder is *legal*; every Act of Parliament is legal; everything ordered or permitted by an Act of Parliament is legal, however unjust it may be. Attainder by Act of

Parliament was grossly unjust, because it gave the accused person no chance of defending himself against the charge; it was 'unconstitutional' because it deprived him of the right of fair trial which Magna Carta had declared that every one possessed. But when an Act of Attainder had been passed its victim was by law subject to the legal penalties of treason—death and the forfeiture of his property.

The Coventry parliament attainted a number of Yorkists, though the king refused to inflict any more severe penalty than forfeiture or imprisonment. But as long as the Wars of the Roses were going on, each side when it was uppermost called parliaments which attainted the leaders on the other side, repealed or 'reversed' the attainders which had been passed against itself, and executed the attainted persons who were in its power.

York claims the crown.

The attainders at Coventry showed the Yorkists the danger in which they stood, and when next year (1460) Warwick raised an insurrection, the party was much stronger; he was able to attack Northampton where Henry himself was taken prisoner. Henry was taken to London, which was strongly Yorkist; York arrived from Ireland; a parliament was called—Yorkist of course; and then Richard startled his supporters by putting forward for the first time the claim that he, not Henry, was the lawful king.

The Yorkist nobles persuaded him to agree to a compromise, which Henry, being in their hands, accepted, and Parliament confirmed. It was like the treaty of Troyes. Henry was to be king as long as he lived, but York was to be his heir, and protector in the meantime; Henry's young son Edward, the Prince of Wales, being set aside. But Queen Margaret and her partisans had not been vanquished when Henry was captured at Northampton. They were in arms in the north, and refused to accept the disinheriting of Margaret's son. Richard marched north, with Salisbury: at the battle of Wakefield (30th December) he was defeated and slain; his second son, Rutland, and Salisbury were taken and put to death in cold blood. In the fighting, both sides followed a new rule of giving no quarter to the nobles but sparing the Commons.

Edward IV.

After this there could be nothing but war to the knife between the sons of York and Salisbury on one side and Margaret's party on the other. The Lancastrians marched southward; Warwick was barring their way to London. York's eldest son Edward, a lad of nineteen, was at the head of another force on the Welsh Marches; at Mortimer's Cross he shattered a body of Welsh and other Lancastrians on 2nd February (1461) and marched to join

Warwick. Before his arrival, Margaret brought Warwick to battle and defeated him at the second fight of St. Albans (17th February). Her way to London was cleared, but Warwick was able to draw off and join hands with Edward, and by hard marching the Yorkists reached London first. The Lancastrians retired north. For the Yorkists the die had been cast. Edward, supported by Warwick, Norfolk, and the archbishop of Canterbury, claimed the throne and was crowned as Edward IV. in Westminster Abbey on 4th March. Before the month was over the Lancastrians met with a crushing defeat in Yorkshire in the slaughter of Towton fight, the bloodiest in the war. Henry and Margaret escaped to Scotland, where the last king James II. and the new regency (James had been killed by the bursting of a cannon in 1460) favoured the Lancastrians.

2. The Rule of Warwick.

EDWARD IV. was king. Possessing brilliant abilities, he seldom troubled to exert them, unless he saw that his own immediate interests were at stake. He amused himself, and left the tiresome business of government to his cousin Warwick, whose father had been the brother of Edward's mother. For three years, government meant the suppression of successive Lancastrian risings in the north of England. There had been many battles between the first big fight at Northampton in 1460 and the last at Hexham in 1464; with much bloodshed on the field, and much on the scaffold after each victory. Cities and the countryside along the great marching-roads and in the northern counties suffered from the passage of armies, but elsewhere there was not much disturbance. The populace did not suffer from taxation, because the victors filled the treasury from the forfeited estates of the vanquished. In 1464, permanent peace seemed in sight. But the restless Margaret was seeking aid now from France; and Warwick was assuming an air of authority which Edward found annoying.

The rift.

The rivalry between Burgundy and the French royal House had again become acute. Louis XI., the son of Charles VII., was now on the French throne; Philip of Burgundy was leaving the quarrel with him in the hands of his son Charles the Rash, who was heading a league of the French nobility, with intent to reduce the power of the French Crown. Yorkists and Burgundians had a leaning to each other, as the French Crown had a leaning to the queen. Warwick reckoned that if Louis the crafty were turned against her, the Lancastrian cause would be finally and completely lost.

So Warwick, intent upon statecraft, was allowed to open negotiations for Edward's marriage to a French princess; in the middle of which he was informed that the king had already married privately Elizabeth Grey, widow of one Lancastrian, Lord Ferrars, and daughter of another, Sir Richard Woodville whom Henry had made Lord Rivers. Warwick had good reason for annoyance, for he had been put in a very undignified position. He was more annoyed when estates and offices were showered upon Greys and Woodvilles, and the queen's many sisters were wedded to the heirs of various earldoms, while Nevilles met with no royal favours.

The rift widens.

Then Charles the Rash, who succeeded Philip as duke of Burgundy in 1467, made a bid for the English alliance, offering his hand (his first wife having died leaving him only a daughter) to Edward's youngest sister Margaret. The negotiations, entrusted to Warwick, who wanted the alliance of King Louis not of Duke Charles, fell through. Then Warwick was allowed to renew negotiations with France. While he was thus engaged, Edward behind his back completed the Burgundian alliance and the betrothal. The indignant French court again became an asylum for Lancastrian exiles, and a hotbed of Lancastrian intrigues. And Warwick set himself to give a lesson to the man who owed him his throne and had repaid him with shameless ingratitude.

Warwick turns.

In 1469 Warwick was at Calais when there was a double insurrection in the north, one to protest against 'grievances,' the other openly Lancastrian. Edward marched north to suppress them. Warwick landed in Kent with a force from Calais, and declared not for the Lancastrians but for the redress of grievances. The south supported him. Edward's enemies closed on him; some of his troops were routed; he found himself in a trap, and was taken prisoner.

Edward recovers.

But Warwick had not changed sides. Edward was still to be king, only he must understand that he was king only because the real ruler of the kingdom, the king-maker, so willed it. The earl married his own daughter to Edward's eldest brother, George of Clarence, and betrothed his nephew and heir (for he had no son) to Edward's eldest daughter; also he executed some Woodvilles. Edward accepted the situation with apparent cheerfulness, as though content to amuse himself and to drop the business side of kingship again. But in fact he was only preparing a counter-stroke against the too confident earl, of whose dictatorship many Yorkists were by this time jealous. An insurrection in East Anglia—mainly Yorkist but unfriendly to Warwick—gave him his chance. He led the Government troops against the insurgents, scattered them at Losecoat Field (so called because of the haste with which the enemy fled), and then suddenly turned upon Warwick and his ally Clarence who, completely taken by surprise, had barely time to escape to France.

Yet Edward allowed himself to be tricked as he had been tricked before. In spite of the rivers of blood that flowed between them, Warwick in France was reconciled to Margaret of Anjou. A Lancastrian restoration was plotted—the luckless Henry had some years before strayed out of Scotland into England, been caught, and confined in the Tower of London as a State prisoner. An insurrection was started in the north in the late summer of 1470; as before Edward went north to suppress it; as before Warwick and Clarence landed in the south and were joined by the Neville connection, but this time with the Lancastrians as their allies. And this time it was Edward who escaped out of the country with the clothes on his back—and with his younger brother Richard, duke of Gloucester—to Charles of Burgundy.

Warwick strikes.

The king-maker took Henry out of the Tower and proclaimed him king once more, while he tried to secure the active aid of Louis by promising him help against Burgundy—by which he only ensured the more active hostility of Charles; and he had not conquered the mistrust of his new ally and old enemy Margaret. In March (1471) Edward—following the old example of Henry IV.—evaded Warwick's watching fleets and reappeared in Yorkshire, the last place where he was expected; to demand not the crown but his dukedoms and earldoms.

3. The return.

That pretence was dropped quickly enough as the Yorkists from East Anglia hurried to join him. Warwick hastened to the northern midlands to raise his own country. Vere, the earl of Oxford, a thorough Lancastrian, was raising the south-west, on the march to join Warwick: Clarence was raising the south-east, but having already turned traitor to his brother was now preparing to betray his father-in-law, by whose aid he had at first hoped to get the crown for himself from his brother. Edward knew, and Warwick did not know, Clarence's purpose. He made a feint of attacking the earl at Coventry but wheeled southward—for London and Clarence. Warwick raced to reach London first, but Edward was before him, entered the capital, shut Henry in the Tower again, and marched out to meet Warwick at Barnet. The battle was fought in a fog : it ended in the complete rout of the Lancastrians, and Warwick himself was slain on the field.

Tewkesbury.

Almost at the same moment, Margaret was landing at Weymouth to join the Lancastrians in the south. No man could be swifter than Edward when he was moved to energy. He flung himself into the west and within three weeks of the fight at Barnet destroyed the Lancastrian force at Tewkesbury. Somerset, the last male Beaufort, fell on the field ; Edward the young Prince of Wales was slain ; Margaret herself was taken prisoner. Of the descendants of Henry IV. none were left but the royal prisoner in the Tower ; and before another three weeks had passed it was announced that he too was dead. The suspicion that he was murdered was natural, but there was no evidence to support it. Edward, at the age of thirty, was the undisputed master of England.

In fact there were no other possible pretenders to the throne except descendants from John of Gaunt in the female line. Apart from Beauforts, the royal Houses of Castile and Portugal were out of the question, but a claim might possibly have been set up by Westmorland on behalf of his grandson, whose mother was descended from Henry IV.'s third legitimate sister. The Beaufort claim, such as it was, was vested in young Henry Tudor, earl of Richmond (who had been carried off to Brittany for safety), whose mother was one Margaret Beaufort, while another Margaret Beaufort was mother of the young duke of Buckingham, the last duke's grandson. To assert such claims as these as being legally stronger than Edward's would be absurd. At best they provided a title for a pretender in case rank misgovernment made it necessary to depose the legitimate king.

II. The Yorkist Monarchy : 1471-1485.

The New Monarchy—The Reign of Edward IV.—Richard III.'s Usurpation—The Terror—The Sword of Damocles—The End of King Richard—The End of Feudalism.

1. Edward supreme.

EDWARD had twelve years of rule before his death in 1483. Civil strife was over. Of the old baronial families few survived, at least under the old names. In the last dozen years half the great estates had been forfeited and were either held by the Crown or distributed among a new baronage raised from the gentry and owing their position to the royal favour. Warwick's vast estates were practically divided between the king's two brothers, George of Clarence and Richard of Gloucester, when Richard married the second daughter, Anne. Parliament in the disorders had not lost its rights, but it had lost its character. In the boroughs, the governing corporations had in practice usurped the right of choosing the representatives who should have been elected by all the freemen. In the counties the sheriffs could generally 'manage' the elections, except where the influence of a local magnate was so strong that it was he, not the sheriff, who really chose the member. A king who appointed the sheriffs and secured the favour of the corporations could pack the House of Commons with supporters, and after Tewkesbury there was not much danger of opposition from the Peers. What is known as the 'New Monarchy' had been brought about by the circumstances of the civil war, not because Edward or any one else had deliberately planned to create it.

Causes of his power.

There had been two checks on the royal power in the fourteenth century; the king's need of money, of which he could not get enough unless parliament chose to grant it, and the danger of a military combination of the nobles too strong for him to resist. To these a third was added by the accession of the House of Lancaster—the legality of the king's title to the crown could be challenged. With a strong king like Henry v. vigorously carrying out a popular policy, the checks were not felt and the king could go his own way. With a weak king, factions arose which he could not control, leading at last to the appeal to arms, and civil war. When the civil war was ended at Tewkesbury, each of the three checks had been reduced to its lowest power. Edward's legal title could no longer be challenged, the military power of the baronage had been broken, and the king had very nearly all the money he wanted without need of asking parliament for more. If he did not combine all the possible elements of opposition and add to them by wantonly breaking the law, he could do very much as he pleased. This increase in the power of the Crown is what is meant by the New Monarchy. The day was past when the barons could with any chance of success attempt by force of arms to displace the power of the Crown by their own. The supremacy of the Crown was secure unless its misgovernment made it intolerable, or a king should be on the throne whose title was questionable, or the treasury should be exhausted.

Edward's title was not questionable. Having crushed his enemies, he had no temptation to play the tyrant. Order and the encouragement of commerce and the arts of peace were clearly the way to ensure general content and his own popularity. For the treasury, it was comfortably filled by the spoils taken from the defeated Lancastrians. And to keep it full, he devised the ingenious and simple method of raising money called Benevolences. Instead of asking parliament for a grant, he invited a wealthy subject to give the king some of the cash which he could so easily spare, as a token of goodwill. To refuse would clearly be a sign of ill-will. To show ill-will would be to invite suspicions of treason. Suspicions of treason were likely to lead up to the penalties of treason. It was distinctly more economical to give what was asked with the best grace possible, than to run risks.

His full treasury.

NOTHING occurred to disquiet the government. The restless and discontented George of Clarence, doubly a traitor already, again aroused his brother's suspicions, was attainted, and died in prison, leaving two young children, a boy and a girl, who inherited their mother's earldoms of Warwick and Salisbury; of whom we shall hear again in later reigns. The remaining brother, Richard of Gloucester, had stood by Edward from the beginning, shared his fortunes in good and evil, fought for him valiantly and skilfully, and now rendered him excellent service as his lieutenant in the north. Neither of his loyalty nor of his ability was there ever any doubt.

2. Clarence and Gloucester.

Tradition has established Richard as having been from the beginning the evil genius of the House of York, a monster of physical deformity and moral iniquity from his very birth. But the tradition is derived entirely from Tudor historians, who wished to paint him in the most detestable colours, were quite ready to believe all hostile rumours without positive evidence, and started with the conviction that almost from the beginning he was planning to set the crown on his own head. He is charged with having murdered first Henry's son, then Henry himself, then his own brother Clarence (whom he drowned in a butt of Malmsey wine, according to the story). There is no evidence that he did any of these things or was suspected of having done them till after he was dead, though it is possible that he did them all. But the one quite certain thing is that he never lost Edward's confidence and rendered him invaluable service all through his reign, while none of his known public or private actions suggest any particular depravity in him.

The one political event of interest in Edward's twelve years of undisputed rule is the French war (1475). He had got help of a kind from Charles of Burgundy, whose second wife was Edward's sister

Margaret. The Lancastrians had got help of a kind from Louis XI. of France. Charles and Louis were engaged in a long struggle—sometimes open war, sometimes a war of intrigue or diplomacy. A French war would certainly be popular in England, still smarting from her defeat. Edward allied himself with Charles and parliament cheerfully voted supplies for a great expedition, which duly crossed the Channel.

The French war.

Now the English king had repeatedly proved himself a brilliant soldier. From sheer indolence he had twice allowed himself to be surprised and trapped by Warwick, but whenever he had chosen to exert himself he had completely outgeneralled every antagonist, and won every battle he had fought. If he had meant fighting with Louis, campaigns might have been recorded as brilliant as those of Crecy and Agincourt. But neither Edward nor Louis meant fighting. Louis much preferred to buy England off, and Edward preferred to be bought off—with the convenient pretext that he was not deserting Charles but had been deserted by him, the Duke being at the moment embarrassed by recalcitrant subjects elsewhere. Instead of fighting, Louis and Edward came to terms at the treaty of Pecquigny. Louis was to pay a sum down and an annual subsidy, and Edward was to retire. In England Edward announced that he had humbled the French king and exacted tribute from him. Louis had no objection to humiliation when it appeared to him as sound business, and if Edward chose to call the subsidy tribute he was quite free to do so. From Edward's point of view the treaty was very sound business, for he had not spent half his grant from parliament, and had secured from Louis a handsome addition to his income: which made him even more independent of parliament than he had been before.

Pecquigny.

There was every prospect of a long reign, no threat of a disputed succession, when Edward died suddenly after a fortnight's illness in the spring of 1483. He left two sons, of whom the elder was only twelve, and several daughters. No arrangements had been made for a regency, since the catastrophe had been wholly unexpected. Young Edward was away in the midlands, at Ludlow, with his Woodville uncle Lord Rivers. The queen with the rest of the royal children was in London. Gloucester was away in the north. Which was to be regent, the dead king's brother or his widow?

Edward's death, 1483.

THE Protectorship was the question of the moment; who was to direct the government of the country till Edward v. should be of age? On the one side was the dead king's brother, a tried administrator, soldier, and diplomatist. On the other side was a lady who had shown herself clever and virtuous, but whose rule would certainly be that of her kinsfolk, Woodvilles and Greys, a mushroom nobility, quite without distinction, who owed their position neither to high descent, eminent service, nor ability, but simply to the fact that they were relations of a queen who had been 'nobody' until a king chose to marry her.

3. Gloucester, Protector.

The brains and the vigour were all on Gloucester's side. By the time that Rivers was moving towards London with young Edward, Gloucester too was moving, with a train of armed followers, and accompanied by the duke of Buckingham, descended from Edward III.'s youngest son, and, after the descendants of Lionel of Clarence and John of Gaunt, the nobleman nearest to the throne. Gloucester intercepted Rivers, arrested him with his nephew Lord Grey, advanced to London with the young king in his hands, and was promptly acknowledged by the Council as Protector. The queen and her children had fled to sanctuary in Westminster Abbey, and her other nearest kinsmen had taken flight from the country. Edward was lodged—not 'imprisoned,' but it came to the same thing—in the Tower.

The death of Edward IV. had provided a wholly unlooked-for opening for Richard's ambitions. There had been every likelihood that both the Prince of Wales and his younger brother (another Richard) would reach man's estate long before their father died. No sane man in Gloucester's position would have dreamed soberly of stabbing his way to the throne through the necessary series of assassination. But now between it and him there stood only children—and there was a way of removing them from his path; not very convincing, but still a legal way. If Edward's marriage had not been lawful, all his children would be illegitimate. Clarence's children could be passed over as having lost their claims to the succession by their father's attainder.

The Protector's schemes.

It would not be easy however to prove the marriage unlawful—public opinion might be dangerously hostile. The men who had been ready to back Richard's claim to the protectorship against the Woodville group might become open antagonists if he claimed the crown. There was only one way of guarding against that danger—those of them who mattered must be removed. Buckingham as yet was safe, too deeply pledged to break away. But others were in his power, Henry IV. had captured the crown by usurpation. The usurper, as was remarked in telling his story, has to choose between two methods of securing himself on the throne he has won—conciliation and terror. Henry chose the former, reigned for fourteen years, and died a broken wreck at forty-five. Richard chose the latter, reigned for two years, and died fighting, at bay, deserted by his followers.

Usurpation of Richard III.

When he had chosen his course, Richard struck at once and without warning. At a meeting of the Council the more prominent of his possible opponents were denounced for treason by the Protector and summarily executed without trial; three were imprisoned. The queen was frightened or tricked into allowing her second boy Richard to join his brother in the Tower. The terror was immediately effective. A few days later it was publicly proclaimed that the marriage of the late king and the queen had been unlawful, as he was already 'precontracted'—betrothed—to another lady at the time; formal betrothal being then a bar making marriage to another person illegal. No man dared say yea or nay, for Buckingham's and Richard's troops were hard at hand. The story may have been true, but the evidence was not produced. However, a sort of parliament was assembled, which was asked by Buckingham to invite Richard to assume the crown as Edward IV.'s legitimate heir. After a show of reluctance, Richard accepted the invitation, and was forthwith crowned king of England. No magnate then in London was absent from the ceremony. Some were doubtless already committed to Richard; some were waiting to see; none dared hint at opposition.

4. Murder of the Princes.

The coronation took place in July, not three months after Edward IV.'s death. Richard started on a royal progress through the midlands. Almost immediately a rumour spread that the boys in the Tower had disappeared. Many years later, confession was made that they had been smothered and the bodies hidden away by one of the murderers. Only after two centuries the skeletons were discovered, walled up. There is no room for doubt that report of the murder went abroad, or that if they had not disappeared proof of the fact would have been produced. The Tudors were able to declare without contradiction that there was no trace of their being still alive at any later date; but some historical inquirers suspect that it was Henry VII. who murdered the boys, invented the story, and suppressed the contradictory evidence. We may however assume that the accepted story was true. The disappearance of the princes and the general belief that they had been murdered fixed Richard in the popular mind as an unspeakable tyrant, and accounts for the general revulsion against him which explains his fall.

Buckingham's rebellion.

Buckingham until this time had been Richard's most energetic supporter; from this time he was plotting the king's overthrow, and was doing so certainly without any design of seizing the crown himself. Unless he felt complete distrust of his ally, his desertion of Richard was inexplicable. The design he now concocted in conjunction with Bishop Morton was to unite Yorkists and Lancastrians by the marriage of Edward's eldest daughter Elizabeth with the exiled Henry Tudor, earl of Richmond, the representative of the Beauforts (Buckingham's mother being of the younger branch of that family). The Tudors had risen through the marriage of Henry's grandfather, a Welsh gentleman Owen Tudor, to Henry v.'s widow Katharine. Their sons, Edmund and Jasper, had been made earls of Richmond (in Yorkshire) and Pembroke, and the former had married Margaret Beaufort. Henry's descent from Katharine of course gave him no sort of claim to the royal succession.

Henry was now in Brittany. In October, three months after the coronation, Buckingham tried to raise the Welsh Marches—Wales was bound to support a pretender who was not only a Lancastrian but also the head of a Welsh family—and Henry tried to sail from Brittany. A storm stopped the sailing and so swelled the Severn that Buckingham could not pass it. Richard had had warning. He cut off the forces which should have joined hands with Buckingham and the insurrection collapsed. Buckingham himself was captured and executed.

Omens.

The insurrection had been futile enough; but the duke's desertion had been an ominous warning to the king. If he could not trust Buckingham, there was no man of high position whom he could trust, unless it were John Howard on whom he had bestowed the earldom of Norfolk. The men he could rely on were creatures of his own—Catesby, Ratcliffe, and Lovell, who were commemorated in the rhyme:—

The Cat, the Rat, and Lovell the Dog
Ruled all England under the Hog—

that is, Richard himself, the wild boar. Whether such men ruled well or ill, the government of upstarts could meet with no favour. Yet Richard could trust no one else, because no one else could trust him, who had struck down without warning men who till the last moment had seemed to enjoy his confidence.

Therefore, for eighteen months, Richard reigned in an atmosphere of suspicion, mistrust, and fear.

5. Richard's rule.

Now whether it was because he had the instincts of a statesman who, if he had come to the throne legitimately and without violence, would have made a great ruler; or because he hoped by popular measures to counteract not the fear but the hate which terrorism inspires; his legislation during those eighteen months was sound and beneficial. Notably, two Acts of Parliament were passed, one declaring that Benevolences were illegal, and another which aimed at purifying the administration of justice by checking and punishing the bribing of judges and juries, and their intimidation. In the disorders, especially of the last thirty years, there had been a great increase of these evil practices. For every one who could be called a magnate had his bands of paid retainers constantly under arms, and a magnate who was in any way concerned with a trial which was taking place in his own part of the country could overawe the courts so that they dared not give verdicts and judgments against the parties he was interested in protecting. Still stronger measures were to be taken by Richard's successor for the suppression of this evil, but Richard's efforts in that direction were all to the good.

It may be noticed however that if Richard failed to win popularity thereby, and indeed increased the antagonism of the magnates, he still got his price. Parliament granted to him for life, as it had done to the last three kings, the duties on imports called tunnage and poundage. (The Ancient Customs which under Edward I. had been recognised as belonging to the Crown by prerogative, not requiring parliamentary sanction, were the regular taxes on exports, not imports.)

Perilous waters.

Had Richard been ruling in peace and security, the country might well have rested content and prosperous under these conditions. But he knew that in the eyes of nine-tenths of the country he was a usurper, and that the majority looked upon him as a treacherous and cold-blooded murderer. He knew that the air was thick with plots against him, and that the pretender Henry of Richmond was at the French court intriguing for his overthrow. An insurrection in Henry's favour backed by a French invasion was not improbable. To keep in readiness for such an invasion a heavy expenditure was needed, and he was driven to illegal devices for raising money. Having prohibited Benevolences, he had to extort them—which was worse than if he had never renounced them. And so the antagonism went on growing: the more dangerously because it was all beneath the surface.

Richard's anxieties were farther increased by the death of his son. With Edward's daughters barred from the succession as illegitimate, and Clarence's children excluded by their father's attainder—the legal position to which Richard was committed—the next heir was John de la Pole, earl of Lincoln, grandson of the duke of Suffolk who had perished in 1450. Suffolk's son had joined the Yorkists and married a sister of Edward and Richard. Thus by a strange irony the king found himself obliged to name as his heir the descendant of the Hull merchant who had been the first commoner to be raised to the peerage. Still the fact gave Lincoln a strong interest in supporting Richard against any other pretender to the throne.

6. Henry of Richmond.

In the spring of 1485 it was certain that insurrection was brewing, that its figurehead would be the Lancastrian pretender Henry of Richmond, and that its purpose would be to combine with the Lancastrians those Yorkists who regarded Edward's daughter Elizabeth as the legitimate head of the House of York (though there was no case of a queen claiming the crown in her own right except the Empress Maud three hundred and fifty years before), as Buckingham and Morton had planned. Henry probably knew with certainty the men on whom he could count, the men who would join him if opportunity offered, and the few men who would stand or fall by Richard. The king knew he could count on Norfolk, and thought he could count on Northumberland. He held as a hostage the son of the powerful Lord Stanley, Richmond's stepfather; Stanley therefore was probably secure. For the rest, Richard dared not call them to arms lest they should desert to the enemy in the hour of battle.

Bosworth.

In August the blow fell. Henry Tudor landed at Milford Haven in South Wales, a part of the country where he was sure to be surrounded by supporters. With him were many Lancastrians and Yorkists who had preferred the climate of France to that of England. Some few more hastened to join his standard. A week after his landing he was at Shrewsbury, though his force was still a small one. Richard's main force was gathering at Leicester; Stanley was raising troops in the north-west. The two royalist armies converged on the pretender; but Henry knew and Richard guessed that Stanley would betray him if he had the chance—but the chance of open betrayal would not come till he felt that his son's life was safe. He might be forced to join in the engagement before that moment arrived. Hence it was Henry's object to engage Richard and keep him too busy to waste time on the younger Stanley before the elder could join in actively.

Therefore, though Henry had the smaller force it was he who opened the attack. Probably he knew and Richard did not that Northumberland as well as Stanley was on his side. Half Richard's troops held back; the rest, led by the king and Norfolk, fought fiercely, and were more than holding their own when Stanley reached the field and struck in. Henry's scheme had worked out with exactness. The new-comer flung himself not on the pretender's flank but on the king's. Deserted by Northumberland and attacked by Stanley, the royalists were overwhelmed. They broke and fled. Richard, Norfolk, and some few others would neither fly nor yield; like Montfort and his staunch followers at Evesham they fell fighting desperately, selling their lives as dearly as they might. On Bosworth field beside a bush where the last stand was made, Stanley found the golden circlet the dead king had worn on his helmet, and set it on Richmond's head, hailing him as Henry VII., the lawful king of England.

7. The Wars of the Roses.

THE Wars of the Roses were in appearance what is called a dynastic struggle, a fight to decide whether the crown of England was to be worn by a descendant of John of Gaunt or a descendant of his elder brother Lionel of Clarence. It did not matter in the least to the country whether the head of the government belonged to the House of Lancaster or to that of York, and it was ended by the marriage of the male head of the one to the female head of the other, so that their son and heir was the head of both houses.

The object with which the wars were fought was of no consequence except to the individuals who hoped to increase their personal power and wealth through the success of the one side or the other. The important outcome of the wars was something which no one had aimed at; it destroyed feudalism. Feudalism means several different things, which were more or less bound up together. What we mean by saying that the wars destroyed feudalism is this. The characteristic of a feudal state is that the great landowners, barons who have no overlord but the king, are almost independent of the royal authority—independent enough at least to threaten armed resistance to it when it pleases them. After the battle of Bosworth the reign of Henry VII. was to show that no baron or group of barons would ever again be strong enough to offer

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successful defiance to the Crown. The destruction had been very nearly completed at Barnet and Tewkesbury. But after Bosworth there was never again any baronial combination against the Crown which the Crown had any difficulty in crushing: whereas, until Barnet, Warwick's nickname 'the king-maker' shows how powerful it had been possible for a single baron to become.

End of Feudalism.

The war had killed off the great families and broken up their estates. It only remained for Henry VII. to add one or two finishing touches to break up and to complete the business by drawing the claws of the surviving nobles. The 'claws' had been the multitude of armed retainers whom the nobles had maintained in increasing numbers. When the maintenance of retainers was forbidden by law, and disobedience to that law was punished by crushing fines, it ceased to be possible for the nobles to bring armies of their own into the field. The insurrections in the reign of the first Tudor, raised in the interest of Yorkist pretenders, were the last writhings of the Wars of the Roses; but they never came within measurable distance of upsetting the dynasty; and in fact they merely provided Henry with opportunities for clearing away the remnants of baronial power.

III. The Islands in the Fifteenth Century: 1400-1485.

Rural England—Commerce—The Towns—Science—Learning and Letters—Signs of the Times—Warfare—Wales, Ireland, and Scotland.

1. The end of villeinage.

In the hundred years after the great peasant revolt the condition of the people in the country districts changed very much. Serfdom, the old villeinage, disappeared. Of course the peasantry went on having grievances, some of them real and some imaginary; but they were not the old grievances of compulsory service to a lord. No one felt himself anything but a free man, if his time was his own, unless he chose to sell it to some one else (which is what a man does when he engages himself to work for wages). The country-man who had been a serf paid a rent for his share of the land in his manor but gave no service. He became a free man as soon as his lord agreed to take rent in place of services. And very early in the fifteenth century the landlords everywhere were allowing their tenants to pay rent instead of giving services, because with the rent they could hire all the services they wanted and pocket something over.

The villein was generally turned into a 'copy-holder,' which meant that he held his land under a written 'deed' or legal paper, and could not be turned out as long as he—or his heirs for generations to come—kept their side of the agreement and paid the fixed rent. He did not become a 'freeholder,' a yeoman, with the right of taking part in the business and the voting in the shire court—he was not 'enfranchised'; he was not legally a 'freeman'; but he was actually a free man. Long before the Black Death, landowners had begun to discover that it was good business to take rents. The Black Death had driven them back to demanding service, because of the shortage of labour and the difficulty of getting work done at all. Sixty years after the Black Death, there were once more plenty of men to do the work, and once more the landlords found rent and wages more paying than forced service. The tenant could easily make a living off his land after paying his rent, so that both sides were suited.

The copyholder.

The land and the peasant.

But a new trouble was arising. There were coming to be more men who wanted work on the land than land which wanted men working on it. The plot of ground which had served very well to keep John Hodge and his family would not serve, fifty years later, to keep John Hodge's half-dozen grandsons and all their families; some of the grandsons had to get their living not off the scrap of John Hodge's plot which was the most that was left to them, but as labourers for wages. So the number of labourers multiplied faster than the work for them to do increased.

The work would have increased fast enough if more land had been brought under cultivation, but instead of that, land was beginning to go out of cultivation; because it paid better to raise sheep on it than wheat and rye. We must remember that the manor was made up of the tenants' shares (whether they were villeins or freemen), the lord's own share or demesne, and the common which every one could use for wood and turf and pigs and poultry. All that was left was forest-land, or moor-land, or chalk-downs, or fen-land, or bare hill-sides, on which a great deal would have to be spent before it could produce enough to make it worth working. So that if more land was to be turned to account, it would have to come out of the commons; while every one living on the manor objected to having part of the common, in which they all had common rights, taken away and turned into private holdings or (still worse) added to the lord's demesne. Thus there was always strong opposition to bringing fresh land under cultivation.

Now when the Black Death killed off a third of the population, some of the tenants' holdings were left vacant and were added to the lords' demesnes, just as a barony 'escheated' to the Crown when a baron died without an heir or heiress. But the lord could not get enough labour to work what he had already; he worked as much of it as he could, and as much of the rest as he could he put under sheep (for which far less labour was needed) because there was nothing else to be done with it. Then he gradually found out that he could get a good price for all the wool of all the sheep he could possibly breed. The land which had gone out of cultivation because of the Black Death was still not brought back into cultivation when there was more labour to be had; it remained under sheep. But beyond that, the lords began at the end of our period deliberately to put under sheep part of the demesne land which had hitherto gone on being cultivated.

Pasture displaces tillage.

This did no harm to the tenants, freeholders or copyholders, who had holdings off which they could make their living, but it was bad for the men whose living depended mainly or entirely on wages. The 'supply' of labour was now much bigger than the 'demand' for it; there was not work enough to go round: there were more labourers wanting jobs than jobs wanting labourers, so wages were low. But this only came about by degrees; for all the time the French wars were going on, the more adventurous men were drawn off to go fighting, and, besides that, they could take service with the bigger nobles as 'retainers'; and that went on all through the Wars of the Roses. When Henry VII. overturned Richard III., the trouble of unemployment (which means generally that the supply of labour is greater than the demand for it) was not yet seriously felt. But before the century was over it had become serious, and it remained one of the gravest troubles of the Government till near the end of the next century.

Unemployment.

In spite of the long French war, and the civil strifes which went before it and after it, industries, foreign commerce, and the general wealth, increased during the fifteenth century. Before it opened, the English had discovered that besides having a bigger foreign market for their wool through the association of the staple merchants and the arrangement of the staple towns, they could themselves make cloths which could compete with those made by the Flemings. And from this two things followed. The cloth-makers wanted all the wool they could get, and they wanted to sell their cloth abroad as well as in England: and so, between the English cloth-makers and the Flemish cloth-makers the English wool-growers could sell all

2. Increasing exports.

the wool from all the sheep they could raise, and (as we saw) began to prefer sheep-breeding to corn-growing; and the cloth-makers became eager to sell their wares in Europe instead of waiting for traders from the Continent to come and buy it if they wanted it.

The Merchant Adventurers.

The setting up of the Staple at Calais on the other side of the Channel had really started the idea of *seeking* a market instead of sitting at home and waiting for purchasers. But English wool needed no pushing—the foreigner was bound to buy it if it was reasonably easy for him to get it. But to sell English cloth was quite another thing, with the Flemings to compete against. Wherever the English tried to go, the Flemings were there first with a big reputation; besides traders from other German towns to whom privileges had already been granted which gave them great advantages; and these competitors did their best to prevent the English from pushing a way into the market which they had kept and meant to keep to themselves.

And so early in the reign of Henry IV. a new trading association called the Merchant Adventurers was started, whose business was not selling staple goods in staple towns—no one but the merchants of the Staple had permission to do that—but to sell other goods. Like the staple merchants they got a charter from the Crown which forbade Englishmen to take part in this trade unless they joined the association. Such an association could bargain for privileges, as single merchants could not; the single merchant with the association at his back could get fair play and protection against injustice in a foreign town when he could not do so standing alone; and he had to obey the rules of the association which would punish him if he was dishonest in his trading, so that the foreigners were readier to trust him than they would otherwise have been. Consequently in the course of the century the Merchant Adventurers were beginning to get a real share of the trade with the ports in the North Sea and the Baltic and even the Mediterranean.

Thus English ships and sailors went on much longer voyages than they had been in the habit of doing before. English seamen had proved themselves more than a match for French seamen ever since Sluys; now the growth of commerce was making them rivals of the seamen of the Mediterranean states who had hitherto been without rivals except the Portuguese.

Commerce grew because the English people had taken to making things which other people outside England wanted, especially cloth;

and at the same time they were doing for themselves and making for themselves more and more of the things they had left to foreigners, which meant more trade at home. More trade at home and more commerce abroad meant that the distinction between the three classes of persons who were engaged in trade was growing more marked—the master-craftsmen who if they were doing much business had apprentices and journeymen working under them to whom they paid wages; the journeymen who worked for wages under a master; and the merchants who were now for the most part not craftsmen at all but men who bought goods from the makers or growers in England or from foreign merchants and sold them again at a higher price—buying 'wholesale' in large quantities and selling either wholesale or 'retail' in small quantities.

3. Merchants, masters, and men.

The craft-gilds, or associations of the people engaged on each particular craft in each borough, had taken the place of the old gild-merchant, for the regulation of trade in the borough; fixing prices and wages and working hours and insisting on a proper quality of work. The masters or merchants who counted as being of the craft managed the affairs of the gild and the heads of the gilds formed the Corporations who managed the affairs of the borough. The journeymen might form gilds of their own, but there are few signs of the antagonism between them and the craft-gilds such as often appeared in the cities on the Continent.

Craft-gilds.

The gild was not like a modern trade union, because only masters were on the managing body; besides it was becoming more and more difficult every year for journeymen to start on their own account as masters. When the interests of masters and men conflicted, each side was pretty sure to think that right was on the side of its own interests, and the masters were pretty certain to get their own way. Still the gilds served many of the purposes of a trade union. Masters as well as men were kept up to the mark, because it was the interest of the whole trade in the town that had to be considered; and the gilds also acted as thrift-societies and spent money for the benefit of all their members.

But the gilds belonged to the boroughs; it was difficult for outsiders to get into them, and because the masters—and the men too—wanted to keep the work and the profits in their own hands, the gild regulations increased the difficulty for a new man of setting up for himself and for new journeymen of 'taking the bread out of the mouths' of those who were there already. But outside the

New trade centres.

boroughs there were no gilds and the new trade grew up in the unchartered towns where there was no way of setting up regulations and restrictions; and this was especially the case with the cloth-working. The result was that the new towns took away the trade from some of the old towns; so that we find some places bewailing the decay of trade and lamenting their poverty while other places were rapidly growing in wealth.

One thing which shows that a great many people were becoming wealthy by means of trade is the large number of costly buildings that were raised for public purposes, not only by great landowners but by citizens, or rather by their money which was often given to the Church to be expended in this way. Henry VI. out of his piety set the example of founding schools; and it may not have been altogether from piety that rich men followed the royal example. But it needed rich men to do it. And if a number of rich men did it there must have been a much larger number who spent their wealth on themselves: so we can be quite sure that there were a great many more men who had grown rich by trade in the time of Henry VI. than there had ever been before.

Schools.

This spending of money on schools shows not only that the money was there to spend, but that people were becoming educated themselves and were taking education seriously.

4. Science.

Science was still almost a forbidden subject, a seeking of the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge with which Satan had tempted our first parents in the Garden of Eden. It was a prying into the secrets which were not intended to be revealed to man. The wise men of the ancient pagan world had found out quite as much as was good for us to know; the Church had given its sanction to what they had handed down, and to question their authority now verged on heresy if it did not suggest intercourse with the Devil—whose active personal interference in human affairs and occasional appearance in more or less human form the vast majority of people believed in devoutly. (We have had examples of that sort of belief in the condemnation of Joan of Arc and the follies of Humphrey of Gloucester's duchess; and Richard of Gloucester is said to have charged the men whom he struck down with practising the 'Black Art' against him).

All the same, the spirit of inquiry was becoming very active, though it had not yet led to any startling scientific discoveries. It had led accidentally to the invention of gunpowder some time earlier—of which we shall have more to say later on in this chapter—and to the mechanical invention of the printing press by Gutenberg about 1442.

Astrology and Chemistry.

Scientific inquirers however were chiefly absorbed in two pursuits which seem absurd enough to us. They studied the stars because they believed that their movements influenced human actions and that by the study of astrology the future could be foretold. And they studied chemistry because they believed that they could find out a way of transmuting metals or other substances into gold by means of the 'philosopher's stone'; so that the man who discovered the way to do it would become fabulously rich. In course of time a vast amount of really valuable knowledge was to come out of these inquiries and experiments—though the future is still concealed from us and no one has yet turned lead into gold!

5. Questionings.

The learning that most men sought was of a different kind. Much of it was concerned with extremely difficult subjects which generally seem to be of the very greatest importance to the people who are attracted to them, and of none whatever to the people who are not: subjects which all have some connection with the science of theology, which is concerned with the relations between God and Man—what we believe about those matters with our brains; which is not the same thing as religion, what we feel about them in our hearts.

Just as the Church taught that no one ought to doubt what had been laid down by authority about natural science or to discover more than it is good for us to know, so it taught that in this other science, theology, no one should question what had been laid down by authority, what had been pronounced by the Church to be true, its 'dogmas' or doctrines. But we have seen that before the fifteenth century opened, John Wiclif in England had already begun to call some of these dogmas in question, and a few years later John Huss was doing the same thing in Bohemia. And though Lollards were suppressed and John Huss was burnt, there were more and more people whose studies set them doubting, though they might be too cautious to express their doubts openly. Everywhere there was the consciousness awakening that what had been laid down by authority might after all be wrong. And along with this was another feeling that what really had been laid down was right, but that the thing that was being taught was often something different because of the ignorance of the teachers themselves; better education was necessary for those who would in their turn become teachers.

And then with the capture of Constantinople by the Turks came the scattering of Greeks over South Europe; bringing with them a much greater knowledge of the splendid ancient Greek literature and the Greek language in which the New Testament had originally been written. And this was just at the moment when printing presses were beginning to be set up, making it easier for many people to get books to read, and for hundreds of people to read for themselves instead of only being told by other people what they had read; and just because it was so much easier they read eagerly, and the more they read the more they wanted to read, so that there was a new thirst for knowledge. And this was going on all over Europe, and in England as well as in Europe, though it was not till 1477, six years before the death of Edward IV., that Caxton set up the first printing press in England in the precincts of Westminster Abbey.

The Humanists.

In spite of all this however, the fifteenth century gives us no English writers worthy to rank beside Chaucer or anywhere near him, though he had his imitators or followers. The Scots did not produce a Chaucer, but they did produce the best poetry of the century in our language; and the best poet was no less a person than the king of Scots, James I., who wrote a poem called 'The Kingis Quhair' (that is, Book) while he was a prisoner in England, telling the story of his own love-romance; how, a captive in the Tower, he saw and loved Joan Beaufort, the maiden who became his queen.

6. An age of change.

THE fifteenth century—until its last quarter—is not a time in which we actually see great changes taking place. It all looks very much like the fourteenth, just as the fourteenth looks very much like the thirteenth. But it is a time when if we look below the surface of things we see that the way is being prepared for a whole series of revolutions. The Portuguese explorers creeping down the African coast were leading towards the opening of the great Atlantic and Indian Oceans as highways to new worlds. The Italians had already created a new modern literature and a new modern art of painting, though it was still very slowly that other countries were following their lead. The Germans invented the printing press, though as yet few presses had been set up. Wiclif in England had challenged the authority of the Pope even in matters of religion, though the voice of criticism was still stifled. During the third quarter of the century, feudalism was destroying itself in England, and France, freed from the foreign invader, was shaping like England into a solid kingdom; a fortunate marriage between the Queen of Castile and the Crown Prince of Aragon was giving Spain her chance of consolidation. The Austrian House of Hapsburg was beginning by marriages to connect—it cannot be said, to unite—under its sway dominions whose vast extent caused the Hapsburg power to overshadow Europe for a couple of centuries, though so far it was only beginning—Maximilian, king of the Romans and heir of the Austrian emperor, having just married the heiress of Charles of Burgundy.

7. Warfare.

There remains however another of these coming changes of which we have hardly seen the warning—though the warning was there—a change in the methods of warfare. Since the days of Edward I. the main fighting forces in the field had come to be not masses of mail-clad horsemen but masses of mail-clad infantry, heavily-armed spearmen fighting on foot. Flemings, Switzers, Scots, and English had shattered the old belief that foot soldiery could not stand against cavalry charges. For a hundred years the English had enjoyed the special advantage of archery with which they made havoc of mail-clad men whether mounted as at Crecy or on foot as at Agincourt; but during the century the defensive armour was growing thicker and heavier, with the joints better guarded, so that even the English arrows were becoming less effective and battles were decided by push of pike, almost by sheer weight of the spearmen. Yet here too Agincourt should have given a warning: the armour was getting so heavy that the comparative activity of lightly-armed men like the archers was before very long counting for more than weight, and the heavy armour was disappearing all through the next century.

Gunpowder.

But the most decisive change in the manner of fighting was coming from the use of gunpowder. As yet it was hardly employed in the field. Cannons were clumsy, heavy, difficult to move. They were not brought into battle though Edward III. seems to have had a couple of guns of some sort at Crecy which made a noise but did no particular harm. But guns had come into general use for sieges. They could batter down walls which defied the old-time battering rams. They were very much in use in Henry V.'s war of sieges; it was the bursting of a cannon which killed James II. of Scotland at the siege of Roxburgh in 1460—which does not say much for the guns, but shows how much they were coming into use. The point had been reached at which improvements in guns and gunnery became rapid. Thirty years later, field-guns were proving of service, and the hand-gun or 'arquebus' was taking the place of the crossbow and even of the longbow.

8. Wales.

THE insurrection of Owen Glendower in the reign of Henry IV. was the last attempt in Wales to assert a separate political nationality for the Principality. Even that was not a general national movement, but needed the artificial stimulus of Glendower's personal interest and influence. He was able to maintain his defiant attitude to the day of his death in spite of repeated English campaigns, but there was no general Welsh resistance to the English connection, and what there was flickered out with his life. The Principality was under a separate administration from England, which though not national paid a sufficient regard to Welsh customs, sentiments, and prejudices to satisfy the population. The marriage of a Welshman, Owen Tudor, to the widowed mother of Henry VI. brought that family into prominence; their son married the daughter of John Beaufort, duke of Somerset; the offspring of the marriage, Henry Tudor, became the representative of the House of Lancaster and ultimately king of England and ancestor of every monarch who has reigned since his day. Since Bosworth set a Welsh dynasty on the English throne, Welsh loyalty to the Crown became a matter of course; but this is looking forward. Before Bosworth the loyalty of Wales was given, throughout the civil strife, to the House of Lancaster.

Ireland.

Ireland on the other hand was consistently Yorkist. The Mortimers inherited the great Irish estates, and the connection with great Irish families, of Lionel of Clarence; one after another—from Lionel down to Richard of York—was Lieutenant of Ireland, in touch with Irish chiefs, and personally popular. Hence we shall presently find that Ireland remained a hotbed of Yorkist intrigues and plots, though the real motive was not so much loyalty to the House of York as hostility to the English Government.

Scotland.

Wales and Ireland were both under English rule. Scotland was an independent kingdom, wholly outside English rule. The English dominion was divided into two parts—England proper, with its English speech; Wales and Ireland, with their Celtic speech and traditions. So also Scotland was in two parts—geographically distinguished as the Lowlands and the Highlands. The Lowlands, with the Scots speech and traditions having a general likeness to those of England, a composite of Celt, Saxon, and Norman; the Highlands, like Wales and Ireland, Celtic in tradition and speech. In the Lowlands as in England the Celt had become fused with the Saxon and Norman: in the mountains and islands, as in the Welsh mountains and in Ireland, he had not. As late as the fifteenth century there was a great Highland rising the intention of which may have been to establish a separate Celtic kingdom. Robert of Albany was regent of Scotland at the time, and the rising, led by Donald of the Isles, was broken at the great fight of Harlaw, which is called 'the Red Harlaw' (1411). This was the last attempt of the kind; but three centuries and a half were still to pass before the fusing of Highlanders and Lowlanders really began—and even now it is hardly more complete than the fusing of Welsh and English.

Feudalism in Scotland.

Though the Lowlands have a likeness to England, the differences were marked. In England, the power of the barons over their tenants had been curbed by the power of the king's courts, and every strong king from Henry II. down had suppressed the practice of private wars between baron and baron. But in Scotland, in the two hundred years after the death of Alexander III., there were only three strong kings, Robert Bruce, James I., and James II. Bruce reigned twenty-three years: James I. began his actual reign after his captivity in England very nearly a century after Robert Bruce's death, and had only thirteen years in which to reform the government. James II. was a minor for the first dozen years of his reign, and had his father's work to do over again in the next eleven years. In those years he broke the most powerful of the barons, the 'Black' Douglases, and made himself master of the kingdom—so effectively that even during the regency which followed his death in 1460 the government could hold its own. But again there was a long minority: the first regent, Bishop Kennedy, died; the old troubles started afresh; James III. as he grew up proved to be very much like Edward II. of England; and the 'Red' Douglases of Angus began to take very nearly the place of the Black Douglases before them. The Wars of the Roses shattered the feudal power of the baronage in England; but in Scotland the baronage was still too strong to be controlled by Crown and Church together.

BATTERSEA
PUBLIC

CHRONOLOGY

1459-1485.

England.		Scotland and Europe.	
(Kings of England, on their accession, are printed in Capitals.)		(Scottish events are printed in *Italics*.)	
1460.	York claims the crown. Wakefield.	1460-88.	*James III., king.*
1461-83.	EDWARD IV. of York.	1461-83.	Louis XI., king of France.
1461.	Towton.		
1464.	Edward marries secretly.	1464-77.	Rivalry of Louis XI. and Charles the Rash (Burgundy).
1470.	Warwick restores Henry VI.	1469.	Isabella of Castile *m.* Ferdinand of Aragon.
1471.	Barnet and Tewkesbury.	1471.	Sixtus IV., Pope. Papacy degenerates.
1475.	Treaty of Pecquigny.		
1477.	Caxton's printing press.	1477.	Death of Charles the Rash. Maximilian of Hapsburg *m.* Mary of Burgundy.
1483.	EDWARD V. RICHARD III. usurps the throne.	1483-98.	Charles VIII., king of France.
1485.	Battle of Bosworth. HENRY VII.		

INDEX

Acre, 121.
Acts. *See* Statutes.
Adela, 86.
Adrian IV., 105, 115.
Agricola, 10.
Agriculture, 36, 69, 203, 301.
Albany, Murdoch of, 255, 261, 262.
Albany, Robert of, 255.
Alcuin, 31.
Alexander (king of Scots) I., 100.
Alexander II., 143.
Alexander III., 143, 144.
Alexander (Pope) III., 105, 113, 174.
Alfgar, 55.
Alfred, Atheling, 53.
Alfred, King, 48, 49.
Alnwick, 117.
Alton, 89.
Amiens, Mise of, 138, 156.
Anne of Bohemia, 237.
Anselm, 88, 90.
Antoninus, 10.
Appellants, Lords, 236.
Aquitaine, 110, 117, 126, 136, 209, 210, 225, 226.
Archery, 57, 59, 62, 182, 194, 208, 212, 213, 269.
Armagnacs, 257, 264, 269.
Army, 37, 57, 58, 62, 100, 205, 283, 308.
Arras, 274.
Arthur (king), 21.
Arthur of Brittany, 121, 125, 126.
Arundel, Archbishop, 236, 238, 261, 262, 263, 264.
Assize of Arms, etc. *See* Statutes.
Atheling. *See* Edgar.
Athelney, 48.
Athelstan, 50.
Attainders, 286.
Augustine, 25.
Austria, 122.
Avignon, 161, 164, 206, 247.

Bacon, Roger, 154.
Ball, John, 249.
Balliol, Edward, 208, 209.
Balliol, John, 174-179, 181.
Barbour, 244.
Baronage, 80, 124, 126-131, 134, 136-141, 180, 183, 188-190, 280, 290.
Barons' Wars, 130-132, 139-141.
Barrows, 3.
Battles:
  Aclea, 46.
  Agincourt, 268.
  Ashdown, 48.
  Bannockburn, 189, 194.
  Barnet, 289.
  Baugé, 270.
  Bloreheath, 281.
  Boroughbridge, 190.
  Bosworth, 298.
  Bouvines, 130.
  Bramham Moor, 262.
  Brunanburh, 50.
  Cambuskenneth, 179, 181.
  Castillon, 275, 278.
  Chester, 23, 25.
  Courtrai, 164.
  Crecy, 213.
  Crévant, 272.
  Dawston, 23.
  Deorham, 22.
  Dupplin Moor, 208.
  Evesham, 140.
  Falkirk, 182.
  Formigny, 277.
  Halidon Hill, 208.

Battles—*continued.*
  Harlaw, 310.
  Hastings, 57-62.
  Heathfield, 26.
  Hexham, 287.
  Homildon Hill, 261.
  Largs, 144.
  Lewes, 139.
  Losecoat Field, 289.
  Maserfield, 27.
  Methven, 186.
  Mortimer's Cross, 286.
  Mount Badon, 21.
  Navarrete or Najera, 226.
  Nechtansmere, 29.
  Neville's Cross, 215.
  Northallerton, 94.
  Northampton, 286.
  Ockley. *See* Aclea.
  Orewyn Bridge, 172.
  Otterburn, 255.
  Patay, 273.
  Poictiers, 216.
  St. Albans, 279, 287.
  Sandwich, 134.
  Shrewsbury, 262.
  Sluys, 212.
  Stamford Bridge, 56.
  Standard, 94.
  Stirling Bridge, 179, 181.
  Tenchebrai, 90.
  Tewkesbury, 290.
  Tours, 17.
  Towton, 287.
  Verneuil, 272.
  Wakefield, 286.
  Winwaed, 27, 29.
Beaufort, Cardinal, 264, 276.
Beauforts, 264, 276, 277-279, 290.
Becket, 112-114.
Bede, 32.
Bedford, John, duke of, 271-275.
Benevolences, 292, 297.
Bertha, queen, 24.
Bible, 243, 247.
Bigod, 179.
Black Death, 222, 225, 231, 301.
Black Prince, 216, 225, 226, 229.
Blanche of Castile, 134.
Blanche of Lancaster, 228.
Blanchetaque. *See* Crecy.
Boadicea, 9.
Bohun. *See* Hereford.
Bolingbroke. *See* Henry IV.
Boniface VIII., 161, 164, 183.
Boroughs, 48, 139, 147-149, 304.
Braose, de, 128.
Brehon Law, 116.
Bretigny, 216, 250.
Bretwalda, 25.
Brigham, 174.
Britons, 8, 19.
Brittany, 215.
Bruce, Edward, 196, 197.
Bruce, Robert (claimant), 174.
Bruce, Robert (king), 183, 185, 186, 192-198.
Buckingham, duke of, 294-296.
Burgundy, 225, 256, 257.
Burgundy, Charles of, 287, 288, 292.
Burgundy, John of, 269.
Burgundy, Philip I. of, 225, 256.
Burgundy, Philip II. of, 257, 269-272, 274, 287.
Burgh, Hubert de, 134, 135.

CADE, JACK, 278.
Caesar, Julius, 6, 7.
Calais, 214, 279, 288.
Cambridge, Richard of, 267.
Cannon, 308.
Canterbury, 25, 127.
Canterbury Tales. *See* Chaucer.
Canute, 52, 53.
Carausius, 11.
Caratacus, 9.
Carucage, 127.
Castile. *See* Spain.
Castles, 82, 110, 153.
Catherine. *See* Katharine.
Caxton, 307.
Ceawlin, 23.
Celtic Church, 25, 27.
Celts, 5, 34, 95.
Cerdic, 23, 33.

Charlemagne, 17, 18, 31.
Charles (emperor) iv., 207.
Charles (of France) iv., 165, 190.
Charles (of France) v., 225.
Charles (of France) vi., 257, 264, 270. 271.
Charles (of France) vii., 271-274.
Charles of Burgundy. *See* Burgundy.
Charles Martel, 17.
Charters (National). *See* Statutes.
Charters (Town), 127, 148.
Chaucer, 244-247.
Chivalry, 154.
Christianity, 11, 14, 24-27.
Clans, 34.
Clare. *See* Strongbow, and Gloucester.
Clarence, George of, 288-290, 292.
Clarence, Lionel of, 224, 228, 254.
Clarence, Thomas of, 264, 270.
Clarendon, Assize of, 156.
Clarendon, Constitutions of, 113, 156.
Claudius, 9.
Clergy, 28, 112-114, 124, 125, 178, 218, 263.
Clericis Laicos (Bull), 164, 179.
Commendation, 81.
Commerce, 70, 148, 201, 210, 219, 302.
Commissions of Array, 283.
Comyn, the Red, 183, 186, 192.
Confirmatio Cartarum, 179, 183.
Constance, Council of, 259.
Constantinople, 17, 260, 307.
Convocation, 178, 218, 229.
Copyholders, 233, 301.
Corporations, 149, 304.
Council, the Common, 83, 119, 157 ; the Great, 83, 113, 119, 131, 157 ; the Privy, 158.
Coventry, 239, 285.
Craft-gilds, 149, 304.
Cressingham, 181.
Crusades, 68, 69, 103, 106, 107, 118, 120-122, 141, 166.
Curia Regis, 92, 120, 157, 283.
Customs, 168, 200.
Cynewulf, 32.
Cyprus, 121.

Dalriada, 23, 97.
Danegeld, 74, 85, 92, 120.
Danelagh, 45, 48, 49.
Danes, 45, 46-50, 51-53, 76.
David i., 100.
David ii., 208, 209, 215, 223.
David ap Griffith, 172.
De jure, 253.
Dermot M'Murrough, 115.
Despensers, the, 189-191.
Domesday Book, 85.
Dooms. *See* Statutes.
Douglas, 193-196, 208, 255, 256, 261, 310.
Dover, 134.
Druids, 19.
Dukes, 224.
Duncan, 98.
Dunstan, 50.

Ealdorman, 38.
Earldoms, 52.
Ecclesiastical Courts, 84.
Edgar (king), 50.
Edgar Atheling, 55, 61, 76, 78.
Edith, queen of Henry i., 89.
Edmund i., 50.
Edmund ii., Ironside, 51.
Edred, 50.
Edward the Confessor, 53-56.
Edward the Elder, 49.
Edward the Martyr, 51.
Edward i., 138-141, 165-186, 200, 270.
Edward ii., 187-191, 193.
Edward iii., 191, 192, 203-230.
Edward iv., 286-293.
Edward v., 293-296.
Edward, Prince of Wales, 279, 286, 290.
Edward, Black Prince. *See* Black Prince.
Edwin of Northumbria, 25-27.
Edwin and Morcar, 55, 61, 76, 78.
Edwy, 50.
Egbert, 32, 40, 46.
Egfrith, 29.
Eleanor of Aquitaine, 94, 109, 110.
Eleanor of Castile, 166, 183.
Eleanor de Montfort, 136.
Eleanor of Provence, 135.

Elizabeth, queen of Edward iv., 288, 294.
Emma, 51.
Empire, Holy Roman, 18, 41-44, 64-69, 161, 206, 207, 257-259.
Essex, 29.
Ethelbald, 30.
Ethelbert, 24, 25.
Ethelfled (i) 49, (ii) 51.
Ethelfrith, 23, 25.
Ethelred i., 46-48.
Ethelred ii., the Redeless, 51.
Ethelwulf, 46.
Eustace, 94.
Exchequer, 92, 120.

Falaise, Treaty of, 117, 120.
Ferdinand of Aragon, 308.
Feudalism, 18, 42-44, 71, 79-82, 280, 300.
FitzOsbern, William, 76.
FitzPeter, 123, 127.
Flambard, 88, 89.
Flanders, 164, 179, 181, 202, 209, 210, 212, 302.
Florence, 160, 201.
Forest Laws, 84.
France, 41, 108, 109, 162-165, 209, 224-226, 256, 259, 264, 266-275, 288-293.
Franks, 17.
Frederick i., Barbarossa, 105, 121.
Frederick ii., 105, 107, 137.
Freeholder. *See* Freeman.
Freeman, 72, 83, 145, 152, 300.
Francis of Assisi, 154.
Friars, 154, 155, 247.
Froissart, 217.
Fyrd, the, 58, 60, 72, 73, 84, 87, 102.

Gascony, 126, 176-179, 190, 202.
Gaunt. *See* Lancaster.
Gaveston, 188.
Geoffrey of Anjou, 93, 94.
Geoffrey of Brittany, 117, 118.
Gildas, 21.
Gilds. *See* Craft-gild and Gild-merchant.
Gild-merchant, 149, 304.
Glendower, 261, 262.
Gloucester: Dukes—
  Humphrey, 271, 274-277.
  Richard. *See* Richard iii.
  Thomas, 228, 235-238.
Gloucester: Earls—
  Robert of, 94.
  Gilbert (i), 139-141.
  Gilbert (ii), 187, 189.
Godwin, 52-54.
Greek, 307.
Gregory (Pope) i., 24.
Gregory vii. (Hildebrand), 66, 67.
Gregory ix., 135, 136.
Grey family, 288, 293.
Grossetête, 136.
Gryffydd of Wales, 55.
Guader, Ralph, earl of Norfolk, 78.
Guelphs, 105.
Guesclin, Bertrand du, 226, 227.
Guienne, 126.
Gunpowder, 305, 308.
Guthrum, 48.

Hadrian, 10.
Hansa, the, 162.
Hapsburgs, 106, 308.
Harfleur, 267.
Harald Hardraada, 56, 57.
Harold i., Harefoot, 53.
Harold ii., Godwinson, 54-61.
Harthacnut, 53.
Haxey's Case, 238.
Hengist and Horsa, 21.
Henry i., 87-93.
Henry ii., 94, 109-120.
Henry iii., 131, 133-141.
Henry iv., 228, 236, 238-243, 253, 261-265.
Henry v., 262, 264, 265-271.
Henry vi., 271, 275-281, 286-290.
Henry vii. (Tudor), 290, 296-299.
Henry (emperor) iii., 65.
Henry (e.) iv., 66, 67.
Henry (e.) v., 90.
Henry (e.) vi., 105, 121.
Henry, Prince, 114, 117, 118.
Henry of Trastamare, 226.

Henry of Winchester (Bishop), 93.
Heptarchy, 18, 23.
Hereford, Bohuns of, 174, 179, 189, 190, 228.
Hereford, Henry of. *See* Henry iv.
Hereward, 77.
Hildebrand. *See* Gregory vii.
Hohenstaufen, 102, 207.
Honorius (emperor), 11.
Howard, John, duke of Norfolk, 296.
Hubert. *See* Burgh, and Walter.
Hundred, 37.
Hundred Years' War, 211-217, 257, 266-275.
Huss, John, 259.

Ida, 22.
Impeachment, 229.
Industries, 70, 147, 202, 221, 302.
Ine, 30, 73.
Innocent iii., 106, 128, 129, 131.
Interdict, 128.
Investitures, 90.
Ireland, 95, 96, 115, 116, 141, 196, 197, 239, 277, 286, 309.
Isabella of Castile, 308.
Isabella of France, (i) 183, 188, 190-192; (ii) 269.
Isobel of Angoulême, 125.

Jacquerie, 223, 225.
James (Scotland) i., 255, 262, 307.
James ii., 287.
James iii., 310.
Jerusalem. *See* Crusades.
Jews, 150, 201.
Joan of Arc, 272-274.
John (king), 117, 118, 121, 122, 125-132, 133, 148.
John of France, 216, 224.
John of Gaunt. *See* Lancaster.
Judges, 73, 92, 120, 145.
Julius. *See* Caesar.
Juries, 146.
Jury, trial by, 146, 158, 159.
Justices in Eyre, 92, 120, 145, 146.
Jutes, 21.

Katharine of France, 270.
Katharine Swynford, 264.
Kenneth M'Alpine, 98.
Kent, kingdom, 21, 23-25.
Kingmaker. *See* Warwick.
King's Bench, 120.
Kingship, 34.
Knights and Knighthood, 124, 153.
Knut. *See* Canute.

Lancaster, Edmund of, 137, 176.
Lancaster, Henry of. *See* Henry iv.
Lancaster, John (Gaunt) of, 226, 227, 228, 232, 234, 237, 239, 254, 264.
Lancaster, Thomas of, 184, 188-190, 194.
Lancastrian Succession, 242.
Lanfranc, 78, 79, 84, 88.
Langland, 244.
Langton, Stephen, 128.
Latimer, Lord, 229.
Legitimation, 264.
Leicester. *See* Montfort.
Leofric, 52-54.
Leopold of Austria, 122.
Lewes, Mise of, 139.
Lewis. *See* Louis.
Lionel. *See* Clarence.
Literature, 243-252, 305-307.
Llewelyn, (i) 142; (ii) 140, 142, 171, 172.
Lollardy, 247-250, 263, 266, 271, 306.
Lombards, 150, 201.
London, 61, 148.
Longchamp, 122.
Lords. *See* Feudalism, Manor, Villeinage.
Lothians, 53.
Louis vi., 109.
Louis vii., 106, 118.
Louis viii., 131, 134, 162.
Louis ix., 134, 138, 163.
Louis xi., 287, 293.
Lusignans, 125, 135.

Macbeth, 98.
Magna Carta, 131, 132, 156.
Magnum Concilium. *See* Council, the Great.

Maid of Norway, 174.
Malcolm II., 53, 98.
Malcolm III. (Canmore), 55, 77, 78, 98.
Manor, 71, 83, 92, 145, 151, 152.
Maletolt, 179, 180.
Maudeville, 244.
March, Earls of. *See* Mortimer.
Marchers (Lords), 138, 140, 142, 172, 173, 189.
Margaret of Anjou, 277-281, 285-290.
Margaret of Scotland, 89, 99.
Market towns, 147.
Marshal, William, 127, 131, 133, 134.
Matilda (Edith), 89.
Matilda (Empress Maud), 92-94.
Mercenaries, 102, 110, 129.
Merchants, 142, 202, 220, 304.
Merchant adventurers, 303.
Mercia, 25-27, 30-32.
Merovingians, 17.
Mesne tenants, 81.
Minot, 245.
Mise of Amiens, 138, 156.
Mise of Lewes, 139.
Mohammed, 16.
Monasteries, 28-30.
Money, 71, 149, 150, 219.
Montfort, 136-141.
Moray, Randolph, earl of, 193-196, 208.
Morcar, 55, 61, 76, 78.
Mortimer, Edmund, (i) 228, 229; (ii) 242, 253, 261, 271.
Mortimer, Edward, 261.
Mortimer, Roger, (i) 140; Roger, (ii) 188, 190-192; Roger, (iii) 237, 239.
Mortmain. *See* Statutes.
Morton, Bishop, 296.
Mowbray, Thomas, 236, 238, 239.

NAVY, 48, 56, 102, 133, 178, 226.
Neville. *See* Salisbury and Warwick.
New Learning, 305-307.
New Monarchy, 291.
Norfolk. *See* Guader, Bigod, Mowbray, Howard.
Norham, 175.
Normandy, 45, 79, 86-90, 125-127.
Northampton, Treaty of, 191, 196.
Northmen. *See* Danes.
Northumberland, Earls of. *See* Percy.
Northumbria, 22, 25-30.
Nottingham, 235.

ODO of Bayeux, 76.
Offa, 31.
Ordainers, Lords, 188.
Ordeal, 145, 239.
Ordinances. *See* Statutes.
Orleanists. *See* Armagnacs.
Orleans, 272, 273.
Oswald, 27.
Oswy, 27.
Otho (Otto) IV., emperor, 123, 126.
Oxford, earl of, 235.
Oxford, Provisions of, 137, 156.

PALAEOLITHIC Man, 3.
Pale (the English), 116, 142.
Palestine, 67. *See* Crusades.
Papacy, the, 14, 64-69, 103, 161, 206, 259.
Parliament, growth of, 137, 139, 157, 166, 167, 177, 190, 200, 201, 205, 217-219, 251, 252, 263, 280, 282, 286.
Parliaments: Good, 229; Mad, 137; Merciless, 236; Model, 177, 205; Montfort's, 139; of Shrewsbury, 238, 239.
Paullinus, 9.
Peasant Revolt, 231-233.
Peasantry, 43, 203, 231, 300.
Peckham, Archbishop, 168.
Pecquigny, 293.
Pedro the Cruel, 225.
Peers, 178, 217.
Pembroke, Aymer de Valence, earl of, 188, 189.
Penda, 26, 27, 31.
Percy, Henry, earl of Northumberland, 242, 261, 262.
Percy, Henry (Hotspur), 255, 261, 262.
Percy, Thomas, earl of Worcester, 242, 261, 262,
Peterborough, 77.

Peter des Roches, 134, 135.
Philip (of France) I., 79, 109.
Philip (of France) II. (Augustus), 118, 121, 122, 125-127, 129, 134.
Philip III., 163.
Philip IV., 163, 164, 176, 181.
Philip VI., 165, 191, 213.
Philip of Burgundy. *See* Burgundy.
Philippa, Queen, 211, 215.
Picts, 21, 23.
Piers Plowman, 244.
Plautius, Aulus, 9.
Poitou, 135.
Pole, de la, William, earl of Suffolk, 272, 277.
Pole, de la, Michael, 234-236.
Poll-tax, 229.
Portugal, 234, 259.
Praemunire. *See* Statutes.
Precontract, 295.
Pretender, 253.
Primitive man, 2, 3.
Printing, 260, 307.
Provisions of Oxford, 137, 156.
Provisions of Westminster, 138.
Provisors. *See* Statutes.
Pytheas, 5.

RANDOLPH. *See* Moray.
Ravenspur, 242.
Redwald, 26.
Representation, 124, 139.
Retainers, 297.
Revenue, 74, 92, 168, 201, 292.
Richard I., 117, 118, 120-125, 148.
Richard II., 227, 230-244, 261.
Richard III., 292-299.
Richard of Cornwall, 107.
Robert I. *See* Bruce.
Robert II., 224, 254.
Robert III., 254, 255.
Robert of Normandy, 68, 79, 86-90.
Robin Hood, 154.
Roches, Peter des, 134, 135.
Roman Empire, 7, 11-16.
Roman roads, 20.
Romans in Britain, 7, 9-11, 19, 20.
Roses, Wars of the, 254, 279-281, 285-290, 298-300.
Rouen, 269, 274.
Rudolf, emperor, 106, 107, 160-162.

ST. BRICE'S DAY, 51.
Saladin, 118, 121.
Saladin tithe, 120.
Salisbury, moot of, 101.
Salisbury, earl of, Montague, 272.
Salisbury, earl of, Neville, 279-281, 285, 286.
Saracens, 16, 17, 45, 67, 208.
Savoyards, 135, 137.
axons, 21.
Schism, the Great, 237, 247, 259.
Schools, 305.
Science, 306.
Scotland, 97-100, 116, 117, 120, 170, 171, 174-186, 208, 209, 216, 223, 234, 237, 254-257, 287, 309, 310.
Scrope, archbishop of York, 262.
Scutage, 119, 128, 130.
Serfs. *See* Villeinage.
Sheriffs, 38, 82, 92, 146.
Shire, 37.
Sicily, 137, 160.
Siward, 52, 98.
Somerset. *See* Beaufort.
Spain, 103, 207, 225, 308.
Stanley, 298.
Staple, the, 219, 302.
Statutes and Decrees:
  Assize of Arms, 119, 156.
  Assize of Clarendon, 156.
  Charter of Henry I., 89.
  Charter of John, 131, 132.
  Confirmation of Charters, 180.
  De Donis, 169.
  De Heretico, 263.
  Dooms of Saxons, 30, 49, 63.
  Forest Laws, 84.
  Kilkenny, 224.
  Labourers, 222, 231, 251.
  Magna Carta, 131, 133, 156.
  Marlborough, 141.
  Mortmain, 168, 204.
  Praemunire, 219, 237, 251.

Statutes and Decrees—*continued.*
  Provisors, 219, 237, 251.
  Quia Emptores, 169, 205.
  Quo Warranto, 168, 204.
  Staple, 220, 251.
  Treasons, 219, 251.
  Wales, 173, 205.
  Westminster, (i) 167, 204; (ii) 169; (iii) 169.
  Winchester, 170, 173.
Stephen, king, 93, 94.
Stigand, 54.
Stirling, 193.
Stratford, Archbishop, 208, 212, 218.
Strathclyde, 23, 50, 98.
Strongbow, 115.
Subinfeudation, 170.
Suffolk. *See* Pole.
Sussex, 21.
Sweyn of Denmark I., 51.
Sweyn of Denmark II., 53, 61, 76.

TALBOT, 273, 275, 278.
Tallage, 201.
Tenant-in-chief, 81.
Theobald, Archbishop, 112.
Theodore, Archbishop, 28.
Tostig, 54, 55, 56.
Toulouse, 119.
Township, 37, 69, 70.
Towns, 70, 107, 127, 147-149, 203, 304.
Trade. *See* Commerce and Industry.
Transubstantiation, 248.
Troyes, treaty of, 270.
Turks, 67, 206, 259.
Tyler, Wat, 231.

URBAN II., Pope, 67.
Usury, 150, 201.

VIKINGS. *See* Danes.
Village, 36.
Villeinage, 83, 145, 151, 203, 222, 233, 278, 300.

WALES, 25, 31, 50, 76, 96, 97, 140, 142, 143, 166, 170-174, 309.
Wales, Prince of, 173.
Wallace, William, 181-184.
Wallingford, 94.
Walter of Coutances, 122, 123.
Walter, Hubert, 123, 124, 127.
Waltheof, 61, 76, 78.
Walworth, William, 232.
Warenne, earl of Surrey, 179, 181-189.
Warwick, earl of, Guy Beauchamp, 189; Richard Neville, 278, 281, 286-290.
Watling Street, 20.
Wedmore, 48.
Wessex, 23, 31, 46-50.
Westminster, Provisions of, 138.
Whitby, Synod of, 27.
Wiclif, 230, 244, 247-250, 259.
William I., 55, 57-62, 75-85.
William II., 86-89.
William the Lion, 117, 120, 143.
Winchelsea, Archbishop, 179, 183.
Witan, Witenagemot, 37, 53, 56, 61, 73, 83, 157.
Woodvilles, 288, 293.
Wool, 233, 302. *See* Commerce and Industries.

YEOMAN. *See* Freeman.
York, 76.
York, Edmund of, (i) 228, 242, 254; (ii) 261, 267, 275.
York, Richard of, (i) 275-281; (ii) 281, 294, 295.

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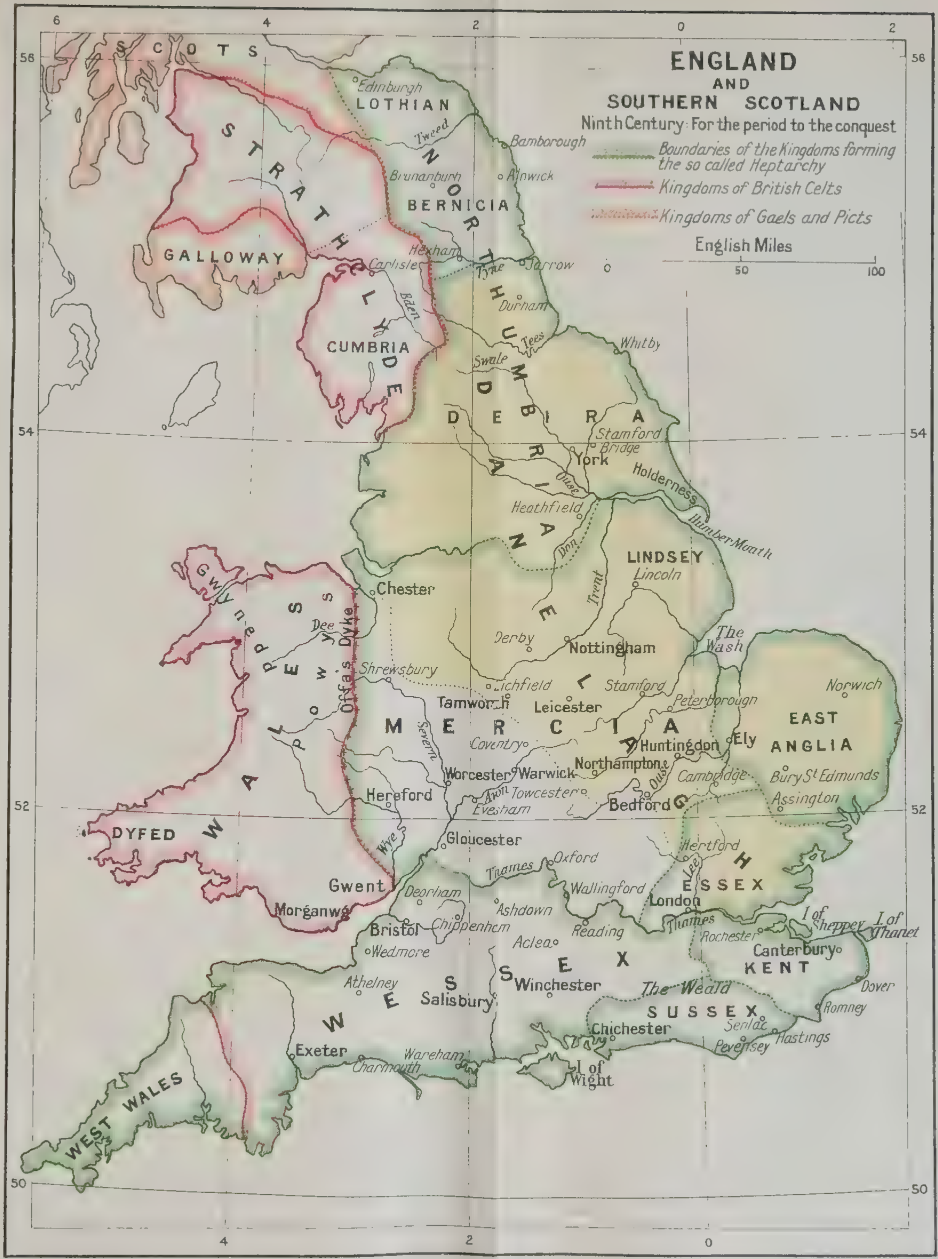

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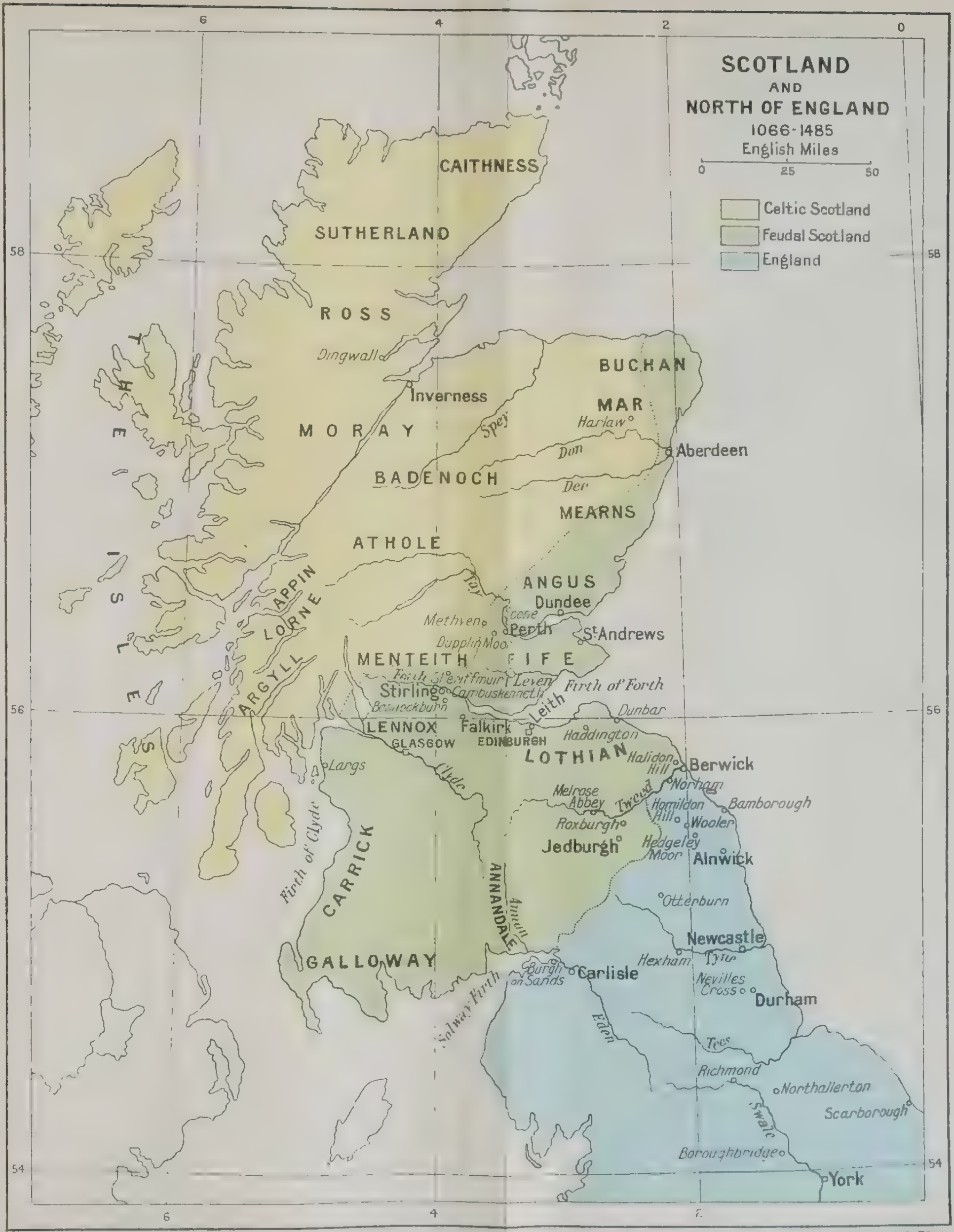

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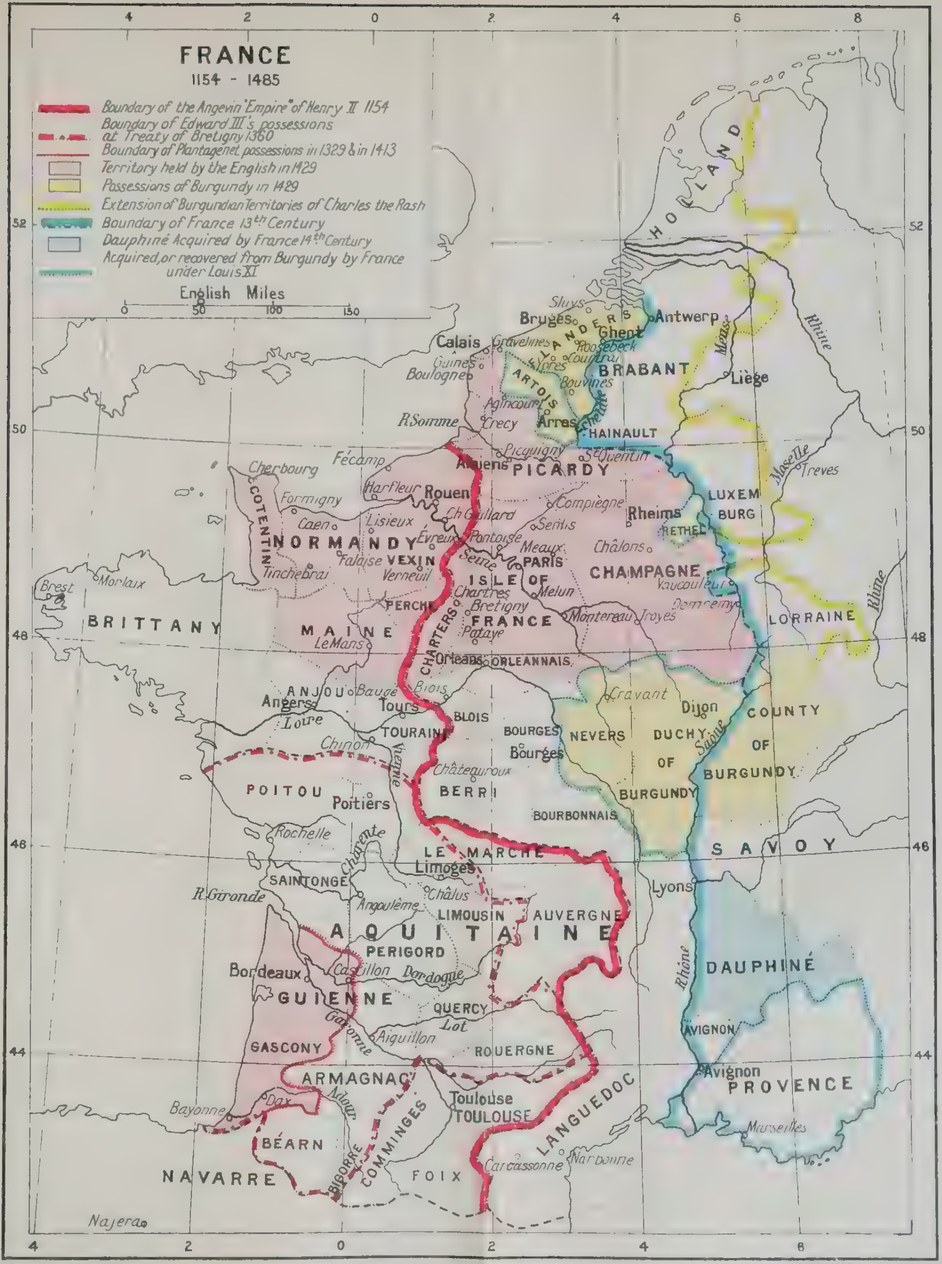

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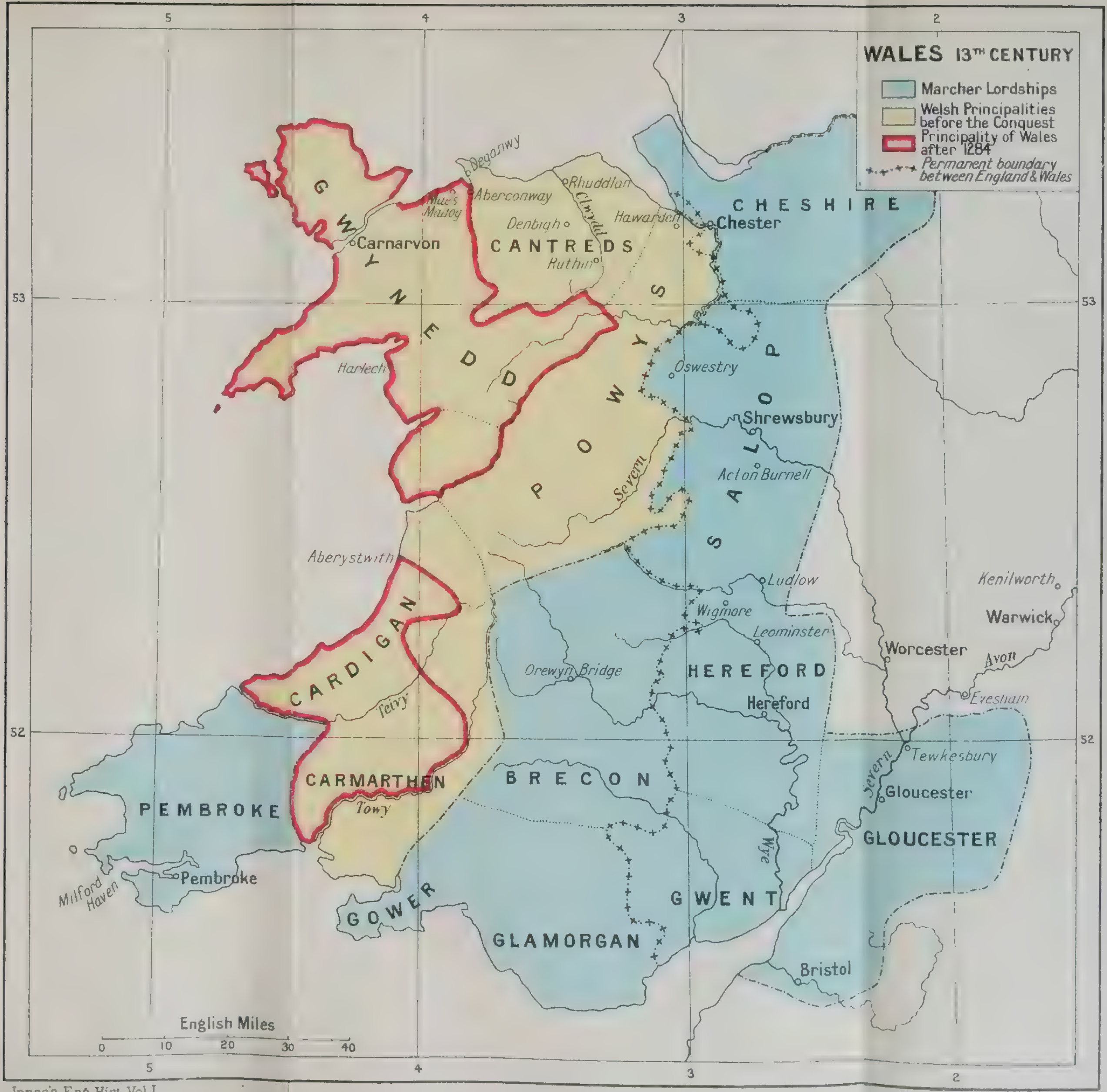

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